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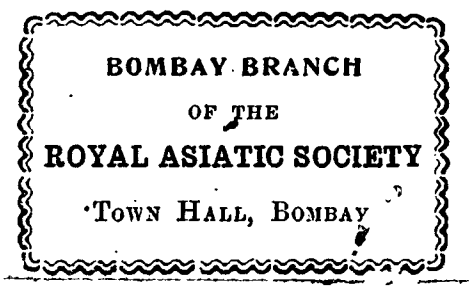

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LETTERS

OF

WILLIAM III. AND LOUIS XIV.

AND OF

THEIR MINISTERS;

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLITICS OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE PEACE OF RYSWICK

TO

THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP V. OF SPAIN.

1697 TO 1700.

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EDITED

BY PAUL GRIMBLOT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LETTERS

OF

WILLIAM III. AND LOUIS XIV.,

AND OF THEIR MINISTERS.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, May 29. 1698.

I BELIEVE that it will be for the service of your Majesty that I have the honour to speak to you thoroughly in this conjuncture, of the knowledge which I have been able to acquire of the means which England would have to carry on war, if an occasion should arise which should appear so important to the nation that it would believe itself obliged to recommence one.

I have already had the honour to explain to your Majesty the condition in which it was. Since that time the Parliament has granted three shillings in the pound on the revenue of all lands for this year: it has granted a levy of the poll tax, a duty

on coals; the salt tax has been doubled; duties have been imposed on tea, coffee, &c.: they cannot do without laying a duty on malt; and all this will not suffice, if the proposal which has been made to establish a new East India Company does not succeed, which offers two millions sterling, on condition that interest shall be paid at 8 per cent., the principal of which cannot be repaid in less than twelve years, and that their loan shall carry on the trade with the Indies; that is to say, that no other party shall be interested in it.* Of this sum 700,000*l.* will be assigned to the King for the civil list of this year. It was believed, also, that the excise will now be secured to him for his whole life; but as it will not be free for a year and a half, and as it is worth only 400,000*l.* the question is to have a fund for the 300,000*l.* remaining, and to provide for the present.

It is important for this prince to make an arrangement with the Parliament which is assembled, for it is believed that the next will not be

* The old East India Company, guarded by charters, and having a strong claim for great services, had been applied to for a loan, and offered to raise 700,000*l.* This, however, was not sufficient to meet the Chancellor of the Exchequer's expectations, and a body of merchants was found who were willing to furnish the sum of two millions, at eight per cent., on condition of an exclusive right to trade to the East Indies. Although this was utterly subversive of all the rights of the old Company, Montague seized this expedient; brought in a bill in favour of a new Company, and, in spite of petition, remonstrance, and strong opposition in Parliament, carried it through both Houses. To this transaction many allusions are hereafter made.

so favourable, though the present is less so than he could desire.

The money which had been granted for the payment of the troops, which it was resolved to keep up, is consumed. More will be asked for, because the reduction could not be completed under the pretext for want of funds to pay them off.

The affair of the grants has been deferred till the 6th; and notwithstanding all this, it is almost certain that it will not pass. Thus, if the establishment of the new East India Company should fail, no person would see any means of terminating this session* but by paying the interest of twenty millions, and leaving it till next Parliament to pay the principal.

Such is certainly the present state of affairs; but though this state is very extreme, yet I am assured by very enlightened persons that the tax of three shillings in the pound on land may be continued from year to year, and even raised to four, as during the last war, which in that case would really produce twelve or thirteen millions of our money. The poll tax might be continued, which is worth six or seven. Part of the sums which are due might be paid, and the sums destined for the repayment might be employed for other purposes. Duties might also be imposed on the importations into London; but notwithstanding all the past

* "It is certain we shall never know when the session will end, if we are set loose again to raise the two millions some other way."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* May 31. O.S.

distress, they always avoided having recourse to this last article.

It remains to be examined how much coin is believed to be at present in England, that we may be able to judge when it shall be necessary to have recourse to new expedients to draw it from the country, if there would be any proportion between what would be wanted annually, and the amount of ready money. It is calculated that there are nearly eighty millions in guineas and eighty millions in silver.

Nothing but the death of the king of Spain can give occasion to pay attention to all this. But, I have the honour to repeat to your Majesty, if that prince should die, and the heads of this people should be turned respecting Cadiz and the West Indies, believe, Sire, that they will venture again upon war; and in truth, when I see the embarrassment which the king of England begins to experience, and which they will indubitably increase, if peace continues, I confess that I believe that we must be extremely on our guard lest this prince should intend, at the bottom of his heart, to engage again in war, endeavouring to persuade the Dutch that he does not at all desire it, and that he has tried every expedient to preserve peace.

In the present state of things the first orders of your Majesty will enable you to judge of the sincerity of his sentiments with respect to the proposed treaty.

A Committee of the House of Commons is preparing an address to tell the King that his

orders have been ill followed, with respect to the troops which have been disbanded, and that the soldiers have been dismissed without clothes and without money, and that he shall be pleased to mention those who were charged with the execution of his orders.

I cannot conclude what concerns the Parliament without having the honour to tell your Majesty of an affair which has passed in the House of Commons, which appears to me very pleasant. Some time ago some persons said that the votes of the Parliament were printed; that thus they were rendered public; and that this was a great inconvenience. They were going to resolve on suppressing them, when Sir Christopher Musgrave, who is of the party opposed to the Court, rose and said, that for his part he was of opinion that they should continue to print them, in order that the members of the House might know what passed.

They are now engaged in forming the household of the Duke of Gloucester. It is believed that the Earl of Marlborough will be governor of the Prince.* He was on bad terms with the King,

* William, Duke of Gloucester, was the only surviving child of Princess, afterwards Queen, Anne. He had now just completed his ninth year, and it was deemed proper to form a separate establishment for him. Every body was surprised that the charge of the person of the young prince was confided to a nobleman, whom King William had strong reasons to dislike, and who was so obnoxious to the Whig interest for his treacherous conduct; but it appears that Lord Marlborough owed this high trust to the united recommendation of the Earl of Sunderland and of the rising favourite, Lord Albemarle. It is reported

but has been reconciled with him for these four months.

I know that Mr. Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said to one of his friends that, in case of the death of the king of Spain, they would not be taken by surprise; that they could equip twenty ships of the line, and the Dutch as many more, in less than three weeks, to be able to provide for their interests. On this I caused my scout at the Admiralty to be questioned, who told me that in a month they could equip even thirty ships, besides those which are ready to sail.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, May 29. 1698.

The letter which you wrote to me on the 22nd of this month informs me of what passed at the private audience which you had of the king of England. The account which you give me may be divided into three principal heads.

that when King William placed the Duke of Gloucester under the charge of Lord Marlborough, he complimented the Earl by saying, "Teach him to be what you are, and he cannot want accomplishments." William, though he knew Marlborough to be a great rogue, could not but acknowledge that he possessed eminent talents, and, in the highest degree, what Lord Chesterfield called the graces, *i. e.* those external advantages, that engaging graceful manner so necessary to a prince; and to counterbalance his insufficiency in the other respects, he appointed the worthy Burnet preceptor.

I see by the first, that that prince is no longer restrained by the pain which he had expressed of treating for the partition of the Spanish monarchy during the life of his Catholic Majesty. I was fully persuaded that the good reasons which you had to produce on that subject would easily remove this obstacle.

The second article regards the measures which the king of England thinks himself obliged to observe towards the Emperor, and the opinion which he entertains that he cannot dispense with communicating to him the treaty in hand, when matters shall be so far advanced that a speedy conclusion may be hoped for. There is reason to believe that, when matters shall be in this state, the king of England will himself perceive how dangerous it would be to their success to communicate the project to the Emperor. It is sufficiently apparent that his views are not for a partition of the Spanish monarchy; that he pretends to the whole united. If the scheme of the partition were communicated to him, it can scarcely be doubted that he would make use of this knowledge to oblige the king of Spain to prevent the dismemberment of the monarchy, by sending for the Archduke to Madrid, and declaring him his successor.

The hatred which the Spaniards now entertain for the Germans would not hinder them from approving in this case the resolution of his Catholic Majesty, and the whole nation, jealous of retaining so many states dependent on that crown, would unanimously concur in the choice of the

Archduke, rather than see them transferred to other powers. This would be the probable effect of the communication which might be made of the project to the Emperor, during the life of the king of Spain; by securing to the Archduke the entire possession of that monarchy, the war, which it is meant to avoid, would become necessary, to prevent the too great power of the Emperor and to maintain the rights of the legitimate heirs. I do not doubt that the king of England will duly reflect on this point.

As for secrecy, it is well known that he can cause resolutions to be adopted in Holland without fearing that they should be revealed. But this is not the difficulty with which we have yet to contend, and the principal turns, at present, upon the alternatives.

What the king of England has said to you on this subject forms the third article of your letter. I see that, on his part, he has not made any change in the last proposals of which you have given me an account; the only important remark to be made is, that he is persuaded that the interests of the English and the Dutch do not permit them to consent to leave the Low Countries in the hands of the Emperor. This is confessing that it suits them far less to let him unite all the dominions of the Spanish monarchy in his hands; and, consequently, that there is nothing more conformable to their interest than to take some measures, such as I propose, for the partition of the succession. It remains, therefore, only to see what those measures shall

be, since the king of England perceives inconveniences which he affirms to be insurmountable in the proposals which I have made, and I do not find any equality in the alternatives which he has made.

To reconcile my sentiments and his, I have made a new project. I have always followed the same principle of forming two alternatives, my only view being to propose what appears to me to be the best calculated to preserve the peace of Europe, and, at the same time, to indemnify, as far as possible, the legitimate heirs, for the just claims which they sacrifice to this sole consideration. I even leave to the king of England the choice of these alternatives. He will decide in favour of that which he shall believe to be most conformable to the interests of the English and the Dutch, and, consequently, that which will most promote the conclusion of the treaty.

By the first of these alternatives one of my grandsons would have Spain, the Indies, the islands, countries, and places which belong at present to that monarchy, with the exception of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and Milan, which the Archduke would have for his share, on condition that they should never be united to the Imperial crown; the Low Countries, in the state in which they now are, would be ceded to the electoral prince of Bavaria. Though England and Holland cannot pretend to have any claim to share in this partition, I would nevertheless consent, out of regard to the king of England, to leave to those

two nations, by this first alternative,' Ceuta and Oran, for the security of their commerce.

Lastly, whatever reasons there may be for preserving to the crown of Spain all that it now possesses in the Indies, without detaching from it the smallest portion, you may add to this alternative, that I would consent that the English and Dutch should become masters of that part of the Island of St. Domingo which belongs to Spain. Jamaica, which the English already possess, added to this part of the Island of St. Domingo, would give them a very considerable establishment in the West Indies; would secure their commerce; and other nations would not so much fear to see theirs interrupted, as they would do if the port of the Havannah were in the hands of the English and the Dutch.

As for the trade of the Mediterranean, I do not see what those two nations would have to fear. Ceuta and Oran secure them the entrance; the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily would, by this alternative, be in the hands of the Archduke. The English and the Dutch do not fear the power which that prince would possess by sea, and all the ports of those two kingdoms would be open to them. One of those in the Mediterranean which would be reserved to the Spanish monarchy cannot be given them, without rendering them absolute masters of that sea, and without depriving other nations of the liberty of commerce and navigation without their consent. I therefore cannot make any change in what I have written to you on this article, and

I cannot believe that the king of England, when he knows my just reasons, will insist on his demand of a port in the Mediterranean; but if he will not give up this pretension, he might reserve to himself a port, either in the kingdom of Naples or of Sicily; the monarchy of Spain, such as I propose it to be given to one of my grandsons, being already too much reduced to add any new restrictions to this partition.

With respect to the second alternative, you have already shown to the king of England that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places on the coast of Tuscany, were too unequal a portion to indemnify my son for his legitimate right to the whole Spanish succession. I consider the cession of these kingdoms as a continued source of expense and embarrassment; it cost France but too dear to preserve them, and experience proves the indispensable necessity of always maintaining troops there, of continually sending men of war, and also, how vain all these efforts proved. I therefore do not make a demand of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily in this second part of the alternative.

On this basis you will propose that the electoral prince of Bavaria shall have the kingdom of Spain, and all that depends at present on that monarchy, with the reserve of what is contained in the following exceptions, viz.: the kingdom of Navarre, the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, and the duchy of Luxemburg, which should be given to the Dauphin; the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and Milan, to the Archduke.

It appears to me that the rights of my son cannot be reduced to smaller demands. I was contented with stipulating for him the restitution of a kingdom which ought to belong to me, which the Spaniards have always unjustly retained, and which the kings my predecessors have never ceded. I require the duchy of Luxemburg only for the security of my frontiers. Lastly, at the same time that I thus limit the just claims of my son, I consent that the Archduke shall enjoy the greater part of Italy, and may, perhaps, soon become master of it, from the situation of the states which he will possess in it.

But if the king of England should still make the same difficulties on the cession of the duchy of Luxemburg, I consent that you shall propose to him a new alternative. The electoral prince of Bavaria should have the monarchy of Spain, and what now depends upon it, with the exception of the kingdom of Navarre, which should be ceded to my son, with Milan, Final, and the places on the coast of Tuscany; the Archduke should have the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

By this last alternative, I ask nothing which can cause the slightest jealousy to England and Holland. The power of the Archduke would be an object of less suspicion to Italy, and yet a considerable share would be left to him. Of all these alternatives I should prefer that which shall be judged the best calculated to preserve the general tranquillity.

I shall expect the answer of the king of England to these proposals; and they must show the desire

which I have to prevent all occurrences which might interrupt the general peace.

I shall likewise communicate these new alternatives to the Earl of Portland.

Though all my letters have made you sufficiently acquainted with my intentions respecting the proposal to cede some of my fortresses in the Low Countries, to get the first alternative accepted, I cannot, however, too often repeat to you, that I do not mean to cede any one for any reason whatever.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, June 2. 1698.

With respect to what your Majesty does me the honour to write to me, on the utility which your alliance would be to the king of England, I take the liberty to remark to you, that he is not in the same situation as King Charles and King James, because he is supported by Holland, of which he has the absolute control; and that, therefore, he has more ships and troops than are necessary to maintain himself in his kingdom. Thus, Sire, he has less need of the assistance of your Majesty to support him, than those who preceded him, and his interest with respect to you is no other than to hinder you from crossing him and doing him an injury.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{May 24.}}{\text{June 3.}}$ 1698.

I will not write much at present concerning the great work of the negotiation, as Count Tallard has asked a private audience of me for to-morrow, having received answers to his last letters, so that by next post I shall be able to inform you what he said to me; it will therefore be of no use to write at present. I think Mr. Hop ought not to go to Vienna till we can see a little farther into this negotiation; and some pretext may easily be found to detain him, without letting it appear that it is done purposely, for that ought by no means to be known or believed.

I am afraid the alliance between France and Sweden will be concluded before Lillieroot gets to Stockholm. I have little expectation that the alliance with Denmark will go forward.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, June 4. 1698.

I have been this morning to Kensington, where the king of England gave me an audience. I proposed to him the last alternatives which your Majesty has done me the honour to communicate to me, and explained them to him at length: it would have been useless to suppress the smallest point, since the Earl of Portland has read the

despatch of your Majesty. He replied to me that he might say he would make the necessary reflections, but that, to speak frankly, he required time to communicate with the Pensionary Heinsius, as he had before done, and that, afterwards, he would give me an answer. We did not fail to examine them. I told him that I considered what your Majesty offered as the last concession to which you could reduce your claim; that the affair had been examined under so many forms, that it seemed that it could not be placed in any new shape; that, by the last proposals, there remained no reason to be alleged respecting the security of commerce. But it appeared to me, by all that was said, that he believed that the commerce of the Dutch might be interested in seeing St. Sebastian in the hands of your Majesty; and that the places on the coast of Tuscany, Final, and Milan, would render your Majesty master of all Italy. He jested a moment on the condition in which the duke of Savoy would be in case your Majesty had Milan, and constantly referred to the answer which he should make after receiving that from Holland.

It seems that he wishes to amuse me, or to wait for the return of the Earl of Portland, I believe to speak of King James; whichever it be, it struck me that to-day he made more difficulties than usual; whether it be that the Earl of Portland has communicated something new to him, or for some other motive, I do not know, but the case stands as I have the honour to write to your Majesty.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{May 25.}}{\text{June 4.}}$ 1698.

Though I doubt, and indeed hope, that this may not find you at Paris, I have thought it good to write to you at a venture, to inform you of what has passed between Count Tallard and me this morning. In the evening of the day before yesterday I received your letter, in which you inform me that his Most Christian Majesty told you, when you were at Versailles, that he had not received any letters from his ambassador here. What surprised me this morning was, that Count Tallard began by saying, that I was, doubtless, already informed by you of what he had to tell me, since the orders which the king, his master, had sent him had been communicated to you. I replied, that I had indeed received a courier from you of the same date as he said his despatches were, but that, on the contrary, you wrote to me what is stated above; upon which he read to me the memorandum of which I send you a copy, and which he gave me. After this he told me that he had no orders, and that he begged me to make no other use of it than to refresh my memory. He subsequently said that these proposals seemed to him to be of such a nature, that he believed there would be no more difficulty on my part to conclude this great affair. He likewise read to me the treaty made with the Emperor, respecting the partition made in 1668. I told him that I found

there new proposals of which I had not heard before, such as those which concerned Navarre, and the towns of St. Sebastian and Fontarabia, as well as the places on the coast of Tuscany, of which I had no knowledge. I endeavoured to make him see that these new conditions were much less favourable than those which I had proposed before; and I concluded by telling him that, as it was an affair of such great importance, I would not immediately give him a positive answer, and that I was likewise obliged to consult the Pensionary Heinsius, since Holland was so deeply interested that, without her, I would never enter into any engagement; and that I hoped that by the time that I could receive the answer from the Pensionary, you would have returned here, and thus we might continue the negotiation and hope for a happy conclusion. I confess that the proposals begin to make me greatly hope that we might agree together, though these new proposals, with respect to the kingdom of Navarre, &c., do not at all please me. If you receive this letter before your departure, and can speak of it to his Most Christian Majesty, or to his ministers, you will do well to combat them strongly; and also with respect to what they will not grant Port Mahon, but send us back to Naples or Sicily, though this is not the alternative on which we can treat.

I write nothing to you of matters here, because I hope to see you in so short a time. You cannot conceive my impatience, and how much I feel that it is impossible for me any longer to bear an ab-

sence of five months. If you could look into my heart you would be satisfied, as much as I am with your conduct in France. Your firmness has certainly enabled you to overcome difficulties which another would not have done.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, June 4. 1698.

The day after I had the honour to write to your Majesty, the 28th of May*, M. de Torcy came to

* This letter of the 28th of May has not been found among the Portland papers. No doubt it mentioned the incidents reported by the Duke of Saint-Simon.

"Portland prit son audience de congé le 20 Mai, comblé de tous les honneurs, de toutes les fêtes, et de tous les empressements possibles. Le maréchal de Villeroy eut ordre du Roi de le mener voir Marly, et de lui en faire les honneurs. Il voulut voir tout ce qu'il y a de curieux, et surtout Fontainebleau, dont il fut plus content que d'aucune autre maison royale. Quoiqu'il eut pris congé, il alla faire sa cour au Roi qui prenait médecine. Le Roi le fit entrer après l'avoir prise, ce qui était une distinction fort grande, et pour le combler, il le fit entrer dans le balustre de son lit, où jamais étranger, de quelque rang et de quelque caractère qu'il fut, n'était entré, à l'exception de l'audience de cérémonie des ambassadeurs. Au sortir de là, Portland alla trouver MONSEIGNEUR à la chasse, qui le ramena, pour la troisième fois, souper avec lui à Meudon. Le Grand-Prieur s'y mit au-dessus de lui avec quelque affectation, dont l'autre, quoique ayant pris congé, s'offensa fort, et le lendemain matin alla fièrement dire au Roi que s'il avait donné le rang de princes du sang à MM. de Vendôme, il ne le leur disputerait pas, mais que, s'ils ne l'avaient pas, il croyait que le Grand-Prieur devait avoir pour lui les honnêtetés qu'il

me here from the King, and communicated to me the letter which he wrote to Count Tallard, in reply to the account which he had given him of what had passed at the last audience which he had had of your Majesty, of which I shall say nothing to you, because you will have learnt the whole contents before this time. It appears to me that they wish to conclude in good earnest, but they will interpose all the delays and chicanery of which this Court is capable, and which we must withstand firmly, and not abate any thing at first, though your Majesty should intend to do so in the end.

As yesterday was the usual day for going to Versailles, I went to the King's levee; and told M. de Torcy that I had nothing to say to the King which merited an audience, unless his Majesty had something to say to me. He told me a moment afterwards, that the King desired to speak with me, and that he would take me in. His Majesty spoke to me of what Count Tallard had written, and of the orders which he had given him. I steadily and absolutely rejected the propositions to give us only St. Domingo in the West Indies and the places of Africa at the entrance of the Mediterranean; I said that the first was a place which was not fortified, and which, by its situation, could not be of any use to us; and that the Isle of Cuba was separated,

n'avait pas eues. Le Roi lui répondit qu'il n'avait pas donné ce rang à MM. de Vendôme, et qu'il manderait à MONSEIGNEUR, qui était encore à Meudon, de faire que cela n'arrivât plus." — *Mémoires de Saint-Simon.*

as well as the other, from Terra Firma, where we had no footing; and that, with respect to the Mediterranean, the African places would be of no use to us for the entrance, if we had no port further in, to secure our ships from storms and to winter in; to which the King answered, that he was not acquainted with the situation of the West Indies, but that since this affair had been on the *tapis* he had studied the map; that he who was master of the port of the Havannah would command the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, and therefore, whenever he thought proper, would prevent the commerce of the possessors of the West Indies; and, in like manner, he who had Port Mahon, being powerful at sea, would be master of the commerce of the Mediterranean; and concluded by saying that we must wait till your Majesty should reply to what his ambassador had to say to you.

I told the King that I thought of departing in a week, but that I should be very sorry to stay so long at Paris without having the honour to see him, and for that reason I would not yet ask to take leave of him that day; to which he replied, very obligingly, that he should be very glad to see me as long as he could; and I withdrew.

The day after to-morrow there will be a review of the life-guards and the mousquetaires, which I should much like to see, but, as King James will be there, I would not venture to go.* I learnt

* It is obvious from these words, and yet more from a passage in a following letter of the 9th, that Portland did not go to this review, though the fact is affirmed in Bishop Kennet's

yesterday evening that the King will go on the same day from the review to Marly, and that he will stop there ten days, which makes me uneasy respecting my audience of leave. I have mentioned my embarrassment to Marshal Villeroy, who will tell me to-morrow how I shall extricate myself from it.

The Duke du Maine and Count de Toulouse will come to see me in state to-day to pay me a visit, and the Prince de Condé will soon come to dine with me; he sets out to-morrow for Chantilly whither he has invited me to come. He will stop there till my arrival.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{May 27.}}{\text{June 6.}}$ 1698.

Agreeably to what I wrote you in my last, Count Tallard was with me the following day. Not to make a long recital of our conversation, he read over to me the annexed memorandum; and, after some

history, and there is probably no more ground for the other incidents reported by the good-natured chronicler. "Portland," says he, "would perhaps have forborne coming if he had known that King James and the Prince of Wales had likewise been there. The Prince of Wales, by his father's directions, endeavoured to join conversation with the lord Woodstock; but the lord Portland, his father, knowing the young Prince's design, ordered his son to avoid him. At this review King James himself did all he could to engage the lord Cavendish, and the other English noblemen to accost him, but all imitated the Earl of Portland."

discussion upon it, I told him it was impossible for me to retain the three alternatives in my memory, and desired to be permitted to copy that paper. He thereupon gave it me, but protested he had no orders respecting it, and desired I would use it with discretion and not look upon it as a proposition in writing. I did not think it proper to enter into much discussion with him at that time, as they were new proposals; and that it was reasonable, in an affair of that importance, to take time to revolve the matter. And, besides, I told him I should communicate it to you; for in an affair of that nature I would do nothing without communicating and advising with the first minister in Holland; of this he approved, and does not expect an answer till I shall have received one from you. Though I told him I would not enter into any discussion upon the matter, yet I showed him I persisted in my former sentiments of treating upon that alternative, by which Spain was to come to the electoral prince of Bavaria; and gave him to understand that the pretensions about St. Sebastian appeared very strange to me; and that Navarre being in the possession of France, I did not see but that they might make themselves masters of Spain whenever they pleased; that I did not know what were the places on the coast of Tuscany, which I really do not; and he was obliged to own that he was also uninformed about them. You will be able to inform yourself about this matter, and let me know soon and distinctly your sentiments upon it. Count Tallard pressed

very much on the necessity of making a speedy end of this negotiation, for fear the king of Spain should happen to die and every thing get into confusion; and that it would then be impossible to negotiate. He also wished to insinuate that we must not expect more favourable conditions than what he had now proposed. I hope the Earl of Portland will be here against the time I receive your answer, from whom I shall certainly learn what we have to expect, and shall then be more able to take my measures.

I have this day received yours of the 2nd of June, together with a plan of articles for the treaty, which I have not time to answer at present; besides, it requires no great haste.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, June 6. 1698.

I have been this morning to Kensington at one o'clock, when it is usual to see the king of England. A short time after I had entered the chamber of that prince, he took me aside and told me that he was going to write to Holland, and asked me to explain if I knew what the places on the coast of Tuscany were. I told him, for fear of being mistaken, that I was not quite certain of what was comprehended under that name, but that I believed that they were Piombino, Porto Longone, Orbitello, and Porto Ercole.*

* Piombino, the capital of the small principality of that name, between the provinces of Sienna and Pisa, situated on a

He reverted at the same time to the explanation at Newmarket, the first time that I proposed to him an alternative on the part of your Majesty, and, without pretending to the gift of prophecy, I think I could tell his answer beforehand. He spoke with a very open countenance. I see very clearly that he believes that your Majesty proposes all these alternatives, only to induce him to consent that Spain shall fall into the hands of one of the sons of the Dauphin. I do not pretend to discover whether he is mistaken or not, but I have thought it my duty to do myself the honour to inform your Majesty of this.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, June 9. 1698.

After the departure of my last letter of the 4th of this month, Marshal Villeroy came to see me, and told me that the King would much have wished me to see his guard, but that he was very sensible of what I had taken means to intimate to him, that it was not from affection to King James that I absented

rocky promontory, opposite to the island of Elba. It has a harbour, forty miles S. by E. of Leghorn, and sixty S.S.W. of Florence. — Porto Longone, a strongly fortified town, situated on a peninsula on the east coast of the island of Elba. It stands on a large bay, defended by a castle on a projecting and almost inaccessible rock. — Orbitello, a town and fortress in the province of Sienna, eighty miles N.W. of Rome, and ninety S. of Florence. — Porto Ercole, a small town in the province of Sienna, seventy miles N.W. of Civita Vecchia.

myself from the review, but that out of respect to his Majesty I would not come there for fear of doing anything which might give him pain, particularly when King James should be with him. He also told me that the King would not return from Marly till Saturday evening, for which I am very sorry, as it obliges me to delay my departure for some days; but this cannot be avoided, and I shall be constrained to retrench some of the days which your Majesty has granted me for seeing the country-seats and gardens.

Yesterday I had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter of the 25th May—4th June. I had already spoken from myself, in the manner in which you ordered me, on the new alternatives, which I will do again when I take leave, which I hope will be on Sunday.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{May 31.}}{\text{June 10.}}$ 1698.

I send you, together with my remarks, the draft of a treaty you forwarded to me; which appears to me to be the shortest way to make you fully acquainted with my views. It will be also necessary for you to make a digest of it in French, and send it to me forthwith.

With regard to the conference which you have held with Lente, I can be guided entirely by your opinion on all the different points to which you

allude; and I should be well pleased if the treaty of alliance could be concluded on this footing.

In my last letter, I made no reply to what occurred to you from the deputies of Amsterdam, on the subject of the (English) East India Company.* It is so intricate a question that it is impossible for me to commit anything to paper regarding it. All that I can say is, that it is a question that involves a levy of two millions sterling, and that a bill for this purpose is to be brought into Parliament, I believe, to-morrow. I trust that it will soon pass, and that there will be no necessity for the Parliament to prolong its sitting above a fortnight; for it is the only matter of importance that remains to be done. I do not think that there can result from all this any thing at all injurious, either to the States or to the Dutch East India Company.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, June 12. 1698.

The House of Commons has granted the civil list for the life of his Britannic Majesty, and the

* "Who knows what a jealousy such an establishment (the establishment of a new East India Company) may raise in Holland, when they see that trade driven from hence, with a fresh credit, a large stock, and no charge and incumbrances upon it, which are advantages that must give them the superiority in all markets."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* May 10. O. S.

funds which it had assigned for that purpose. On that day there were only 230 members present in the house, out of 580 who compose it. It is affirmed that money had been distributed to induce the greater part to absent themselves and to go into the country; but these people all unanimously voted yesterday to present an address to the King, requesting him to give a statement of what troops he had either in England or elsewhere; and what he had disbanded since the peace, and what he intended to disband in future.†

The King had in some measure foreseen this, for all his emissaries have circulated a report for this week past that the king of Spain is dead, or that, if he is not, he cannot survive a month. Merchants have produced letters, and, as I determined to find out whence the report came, I traced it up to Lord Godolphin, and that is sufficient to remove all doubt that the report was designedly spread.

We must see what will be the result, for his own imperturbability, and the restlessness of those who compose the Parliament, who want to go into

* "Your Grace will see that a handsome provision is made for the civil list. I have not seen the King since, but I am told that he never appeared in better humour."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* May 28. O. S.

† "The motion yesterday, for the list of the army disbanded, and to be disbanded, was made by Sir Thomas Dyke. They say it was not intended to be carried further, if Mr. Blathwayte had not happened to say he should be ready with the lists when he had orders for it. Upon that, Sir Christopher Musgrave said they saw now where it stuck, and therefore moved for an address."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* June 2. O. S.

the country, often give him means to succeed, contrary to the intentions even of those who might hinder him.

It seems that the two parties opposed to each other in Parliament have both agreed on the civil list, and on presenting the address of which I have had the honour to speak to your Majesty.' This merits attention.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Marly, June 12. 1698.

I have received your letters of the 29th May, and of the 2nd, and 4th, of this month. The first, which the Abbé Dubois* brought me, informs

* The celebrated Abbé Dubois, afterwards cardinal and prime minister. He had obtained leave from Louis XIV. to accompany Count Tallard as one of his chaplains. It is said, in all the biographical dictionaries, that by means of St. Evremond he had made acquaintance in London with persons of quality, and that Count Tallard took umbrage at his meddling and intriguing disposition. The Abbé Dubois was recalled, formally, by an order of Louis XIV. transmitted by M. de Torcy, but he was so little disagreeable to Count Tallard that the ambassador wrote at this occasion (May 18th) in the following words to M. de Torcy:—

"M. l'Abbé Dubois et moi sommes si bons amis que je n'ai pu lui cacher les raisons qui m'ont obligé à lui donner le conseil de retourner en France. Je ne sais ce qui peut avoir donné lieu à ce que l'on vous a mandé sur le bruit de son voyage, mais je sais bien qu'on ne saurait avoir un conduite plus simple et plus unie qu'a été la sienne, cherchant à satisfaire sa curiosité sans se mêler d'autre chose. Comme il est ecclésiastique, les

me of the situation of England with respect to its finances; of the extreme embarrassment of the King to find the money which is necessary; and I learn, by the last, the undecided reply of that prince to the new alternatives which you have proposed to him by my orders.

It has always been judged, that the situation of that prince would be much less easy in England during the peace than it was during the war; that, being in want of pretexts to ask money of the Parliament, and to have troops at his disposal, his authority would diminish every day over a nation always jealous of the power of its sovereigns, and always aiming to restrict it.

You have remarked to me that the policy of this prince, with respect to the English, had hitherto been to exercise patience and to expect from time the success of his designs; but, as the long practice of this secret renders it pretty useless, there is reason to believe that he will be forced to seek for other means to maintain his authority, especially if he meets in the next Parliament with so many difficulties as are even now anticipated. There is every appearance that the first means which will occur to him for this purpose, is that of renewing the war, and of a league like the last, of which he was the head; but I do not see that it will be as easy for him to form it.

réfugiés ont peut-être cherché à le tourmenter, mais je lui dois la justice d'avoir l'honneur de vous écrire ce que je fais, et il part incessamment, même sans se servir de la liberté de passer à Cambridge et à Oxford."

The more anxious the English are to restrict his authority, the more they must fear a new war, which would give him more extensive power than the kings of England have ever enjoyed. If the resources of that kingdom were as great as formerly, the nation might have no reason to be afraid of recommencing a war. But, in the present state of England, this war could not recommence without recourse being had to extraordinary measures to levy the taxes, and to such taxes as the nation has never yet allowed to be imposed upon it. If it once consented, it would no longer be necessary for the kings of England to summon parliaments; and I am persuaded that considerations so powerful will restrain the English, especially when they see that they have no interest in disturbing the peace.

The opening of the Spanish succession would be indeed a pretext to engage them in a new war, if the king of England does not enter into any of the proposals which you have made him; but this event is perhaps still remote, since the health of his Catholic Majesty improves every day.

Thus the king of England, not being able at present to engage in a new war, and to find himself again at the head of a party, it appears to me that nothing is more conducive to his interests than to unite with me; though you justly observe that, being able to dispose of the forces of the United Provinces, he has resources which his royal predecessors had not. It is certain that he would be still more secure, if he could reckon on

my assistance in case of a revolution, of which there are pretty frequent instances in that kingdom.

You will await his reply to the last alternatives which you have proposed, without seeming to be at all eager to know his resolution; and, even if he does not explain himself, as I have reason to expect, on proposals so moderate as the last which I ordered you to make to him, it is my intention to suspend all negotiation on this subject.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, June 16. 1698.

The great affair at present is to see what will become of the address of the House of Commons for the disbanding of the troops. I know the King says that it is true, that it is useless to retain so many so long as peace with France is preserved, but that it cannot be predicted how long this will last; that the fleet is not sufficient for the security of England, and that it is useless to have one, unless they have at the same time a land force; that the old opinion that ships alone were necessary can no longer be maintained, since your Majesty's marine is not only equal but superior to that of England; that the last war proved this, since your Majesty resisted a naval force both of that country and of Holland; that if he proposed and insisted on retaining the troops, it was not for any private interest, nor to

uphold his authority, nor to make himself master; that such ideas might occur to him if he had children, or if the crown were to remain in the hands of some member of his family, but that he was alone; that, therefore, it was the affair of the nation, rather than his, and that it was for them to reflect on what was for the interest of their liberty and their laws. I venture to assure your Majesty that these are the very terms which the King made use of.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, June 17. 1698.

The king of England told me yesterday at Kensington that he desired to speak to me this morning, and that I should be with him at eleven o'clock. I have just returned. He told me that he had received an answer from Holland; that the contents of it, and his own ideas, concurred in obliging him to tell me that the more he examined the alternatives which your Majesty proposed, the more he saw that it would be difficult to agree to that which gave Spain to one of the sons of the Dauphin; that the securities necessary for their commerce would cause so many obstacles, and that your Majesty and himself would think so differently on what should be offered for that purpose, that he believed it would be necessary to go back to the other alternatives; and that he should confine himself to examining that which I had made to him at Newmarket,

of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the duchy of Luxemburg, and the last, in which are comprehended the kingdom of Navarre, Milan, the places on the coast of Tuscany, Final, St. Sebastian, and Fontarabia; that, by this last alternative, Pampeluna rendered you master of the kingdom of Spain; that there was neither fortress nor river which could hinder you from marching even to Madrid; that Spain, in the hands of a separate prince, would be in the power of France, if it had a port beyond the Pyrenees. He should therefore return to the first, and what the power of your Majesty might do was so well known, that, whatever inclination he had to enter into the sentiments of your Majesty, and to make a treaty with you, he did not dare to suffer himself to go as far as he would; and that, in short, he still thought that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were naturally the most suitable; but that, to prove the desire which he had to go as far as he was able, he thought that the places on the coast of Tuscany, the importance of which he greatly exaggerated, might be added.

I replied, that, with respect to the proposal of the first alternative, made at Newmarket, Luxemburg must be considered as being the prime object, and principal motive; that, as soon as this was cut off, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily could no longer be regarded but as the smallest portion of the Spanish succession, in respect to France; that I had had the honour to tell him, at the last audience which he gave me, that your Majesty no longer thought of them; that you con-

sidered these countries as dominions which experience had proved would be a burthen to France; and that the places on the coast of Tuscany could not be considered as a just equivalent for the duchy of Luxemburg.

I reverted to the last alternative. The argument that Pampeluna gave the entrance into Spain has always served him as a reason for not consenting to it. I informed him that the Emperor had not believed it to be so dangerous, when he had consented that the kingdom of Navarre should be in the hands of the Dauphin; and that we could not be thoroughly persuaded of this, since we had never thought of making this conquest, which, if I may venture to say so, has always been in the hands of your Majesty, since nature does not oppose any obstacle, and, moreover, as there is a road through Roncevaux, and the power of the Spaniards has never been sufficient to prevent it for a certain number of years.

All my arguments were unavailing, though I represented every thing that could be said. I replied to him that as I was not entrusted with any negotiation, but merely to state the proposals of your Majesty, I did not make any overture; that I should have the honour to give an account to your Majesty of what he had said, but that, according to the notions which I could form of the intentions of your Majesty, it seemed to me that you were persuaded, that you had given the last proofs of your moderation in what you had last proposed, and that I doubted of your agreeing to what I should have to state to you.

I asked, as for my own information, if Final* was not included in the proposal. He replied that it was not one of the places on the coast of Tuscany. I answered that I knew that very well, but that it was a communication therewith. He replied, laughing, that he believed that your Majesty would not be jealous of the naval power of the Archduke. We then spoke again of the duke of Savoy; it would be idle to repeat this to your Majesty.

He then added that as he hoped and wished that the treaty should advance and be concluded, he thought it would be advisable, to save time, that your Majesty should send me your orders respecting the manner in which it would be proper to enter on the execution of the matters which should be agreed upon; which would be full of details. I answered, that I desired with all my heart that matters were advanced so far, but that they did not appear to me to be yet so near a conclusion; that, however, I would have the honour to write to your Majesty.

He added, that some measures of civility would have to be taken, (to which he believed that your Majesty would yourself be very glad to concede,) to communicate the treaty to the king of Spain, when it should be made. I replied, that this would be equivalent to announcing to him a sentence of death, and that, the treaty being secret, it would be a useless precaution. He replied, that it must

* Final, or Finale, a small town situated on the Riviera di Ponente, the capital of the Marquisate of that name, twenty three miles N.E. of Oneglia, and thirty-five S.W. of Genoa

be concealed as much as possible, but that it would be very difficult to do so, in the long run.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, June 17. 1698.

On Saturday afternoon I went to Versailles, to wait for the return of the King. He told me at supper that he would speak to me on the following morning. Having gone to his levee, he made me enter his cabinet quite alone, without any witness, and I remained there three quarters of an hour. What passed then well deserves that your Majesty should be informed of it, but it is too private and too long to form the subject of a letter, and I hope soon to have the honour of communicating it to you in person. It finished with very strong, renewed protestations of esteem and friendship for your Majesty, and reiterated assurances of sincere intentions to maintain a strict and firm bond of union with you; and, after that, by expressions too favourable to myself: but, as to the different things which I have required, I have obtained nothing more than what I had the honour to state to your Majesty in my preceding letters. The King spoke to me of various things, among others, what route I intended to take. I asked his permission to go through Dunkirk. He answered that, if I would take that route, I should, without seeing them, pass near many other fine towns of Flanders,

which deserved to be seen, and that I should not go eight or ten leagues out of the way to pass through ten places which he wished me to see; and he then gave me a route by Cambray, Bouchain, Valenciennes, Condé, Tournay, Lisle, Menin, Ypres, Bergues, Dunkirk, and Calais; though this route is not much longer, the time that it will take me to visit these places will detain me a little.

The prince of Condé expects me at his residence. I set out for it to-morrow morning, and, by the preparations which he has made to receive me, I question whether he will let me go at the time I proposed, namely, after a day's sojourn.*

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* "23 Juin, 1698.—Milord Portland a demeuré trois jours à Chantilly, où M. le Prince l'a reçu et régalé magnifiquement. Il en partit samedi, et va voir plusieurs de nos places de Flandre, où le Roi a ordonné qu'on lui rendit beaucoup d'honneurs; on tirera le canon partout, on lui donnera une garde avec un capitaine. Il y a des ingénieurs chargés de lui faire voir toutes les fortifications. Le Roi lui a envoyé son portrait dans une boîte de diamants qui vaut bien quatre mille pistoles."—*Dangeau.*

"Enfin Portland, comblé de toutes les manières possibles, se résolut au départ. M. le Prince le pria de passer à Chantilly, et lui donna une fête magnifique avec ce goût exquis qui, en ce genre, est l'apanage particulier aux Condé. De là Portland continua son chemin par la Flandre; non seulement il eut la permission du Roi d'y voir toutes les places qu'il voudrait, mais il le fit accompagner par des ingénieurs, avec ordre de les lui bien montrer. Il fit reçu partout avec les plus grands honneurs, et eut toujours un capitaine et cinquante hommes de garde."—*Mémoires de Saint-Simon.*

LOUIS XIV TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, June 19. 1698.

I have received your letter of the 12th of this month, by which I perceive that the precautions which the king of England had taken to induce the members of Parliament, whom he suspected, to leave London, have not prevented an address being presented to that prince, calling upon him for an explanation respecting the number of troops that he means still to keep on foot.

These proceedings show, that the English are more jealous of their liberty under a king whom they themselves have invited, than they were under the reign even of his predecessors; but it appears, at the same time, that the king of England, knowing in what manner he ought to govern his subjects, will not be embarrassed in essential matters about conducting them as he shall judge most convenient. It must soon be seen pretty nearly what resolution he will take; and, according to all appearance, he will not long defer giving you the answer which he has promised you.

I do not learn, however, that he enters into any engagement, either with the Emperor or with the elector of Bavaria; and, if he has the intention of forcing a connection with one or the other of those princes, he will perhaps wait till he goes to Holland.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, June 14.—24. 1698.

You will recollect that I have from time to time hinted to you that I did not think that Denmark was sincerely inclined to enter into more close relations with us. It now appears to me that this is no longer a matter of doubt, after what you have told me took place in your last conference with Lente. I do not see that we can do any thing more in this business; and I think that our best plan will be to wait to see if Denmark takes any new step. In my opinion the Danes will try to form relations with France.

I had flattered myself that the Parliament would have concluded its sittings next week, for I thought that the affair of the East India trade was almost settled between the new Company and the old; but all this is quite at an end, and such debates and disputations have taken place in the House of Commons, that it will be long apparently before they are concluded. However, this is the only matter of importance that remains to be done in the Parliament, and you are sensible of my anxiety to see the end of it.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Marly, June 26. 1698.

I see by your letter of the 17th of this month, that the king of England has replied to the alter-

natives which you had to propose to him. But the difficulties which he raises against each of them do not indicate much inclination on his part to treat; and in the first proposals which he made, he had approached much nearer to what might be agreed to than he does at present. The portion of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which he assigns for my son, and of the places on the coast of Tuscany, bears no proportion to those which he proposes to assign to the Archduke and to the electoral prince of Bavaria. You have replied to him with good ground, that the portion could not be accepted if the duchy of Luxemburg were cut off from this alternative; and, in fact, the acquisition of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and of the places on the coast of Tuscany, would be only a source of expense and embarrassment to me, and would not be productive of any advantage to my crown.

I had particularly endeavoured to render the alternatives which you have proposed to the king of England equal. I left it to him to prefer that which he should himself think best calculated to preserve the general tranquillity. I had therefore reason to believe, that he would not propose a new one so disadvantageous to the legitimate heir of the whole Spanish monarchy.

But as the restoration of the health of the Catholic King will probably afford all the time which is necessary to treat, you will make a new proposal to the king of England. You will tell him that, considering my son as the sole and true heir of the

Spanish crown, I was right in requiring that, when he renounces the greater part of his rights with a view to the good of all Europe, his portion should at least be more considerable than that of the princes to whom he is willing to abandon the other states of that monarchy; that, however, I had made the alternatives so equal, when it was contemplated to form them, that I am ready at present to take for the portion of my son what I offered to give to the Archduke; that I therefore leave to the choice of the king of England, either to treat on the footing of one of these alternatives which I have proposed, or to agree that my son shall have for his portion the states which I consented to give to the Archduke, viz., the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and Milan; that, in this case, I would also leave to his choice the partition of the other states of the Spanish monarchy between the Archduke and the electoral prince of Bavaria; and that he might take, with one or the other, all the securities which he should think proper for the commerce of the West Indies and the Mediterranean.

It does not appear to me that that prince can require from me greater facilities to treat, than to take for my son the portion which I offered to give to the Archduke; and, if the negotiation advances in such a manner that we may anticipate a speedy conclusion, I will then send you the draft of a treaty, and of the manner in which the terms must be carried into execution. Till the affair shall be in that state, it would be useless to enter into the details of which the king of England has spoken to you.

But, even if you do not find more inclination on the part of that prince to agree to this last proposal, than to those which you have hitherto made him, you are not to break off the negotiation. It is very important to keep it up as long as possible, even though it could not be brought to a conclusion; you will therefore reply to the difficulties which he will suggest, according to the knowledge which you have of my intentions. You will undertake to give me an account of anything new that he shall say to you; you will wait for my orders; and, finally, you will omit nothing which may tend to show that I believe it is advisable for the general good of Europe, that measures should so be taken that the public tranquillity may not be disturbed, in case of the death of the king of Spain. I learn by the last letters from Madrid, that the health of that prince is, at present, restored to its usual state, and that there is reason to believe that the vacancy of the succession is still distant.* I do not see what motive

* "Our Gazettes here tell us every week his Catholic Majesty is in perfect health, and it is the general answer to all who inquire of him. It is true that he is every day abroad, but *hæret lateri lethalis arundo;* his ankles and knees swell again, his eyes bag, his lids are as red as scarlet, and the rest of his face a greenish yellow. His tongue is *travada*, as they express it, that is, he has such a fumbling in his speech, those near him hardly understand him."—*The Hon. Alex. Stanhope to his son, James Stanhope.* Madrid, June 25. 1698.

"The name the doctors give to the disease of the King is *alfereza insensata*, which sounds in English, a stupid epilepsy, and they tell us, he continues extremely dull and stupid." —*Stanhope to Mr. Yard.* Madrid, June 29.

the king of England may have to communicate to him such a treaty as that which is at present under discussion, and I highly approve the reply which you gave him on this subject. It is the more important to keep this negotiation secret, as it would entirely alienate the Spanish people, if they learnt that measures were in contemplation to divide the dominions dependent upon that monarchy.

If you follow the king of England to Holland, the business may, perhaps, advance during the journey. I should like that you should be there without any rank, and without any other suite than what will be absolutely necessary.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{June 24.}}{\text{July 3.}}$ 1698.

I think the interview you propose to have with M. van Dyckwelt at Moerdyk, will be of use in taking measures against an unexpected accident; and you consider, very justly, that they must be such as are not adverse to the great negotiation we have now in hand; with regard to which the Earl of Portland will inform you, circumstantially, of what has passed between Count Tallard and me. It seems as if the French rather drew back than advanced; so that I cannot yet judge what will be the issue. I know well that uncertainty does us no service, but hinders us from taking resolute

measures. I think it will not be amiss that M. Hop set out for Vienna; but it is impossible to give him other instructions than those you mention in your letter of June the 24th; for, we must not engage ourselves at once with that Court, before we see the issue of this great negotiation.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, July 3. 1698.

I have just spoken to the king of England about the contents of the last despatch which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me. I told him that I had given an account to your Majesty of what had passed at the last audience which he had given me; that I could not help telling him, that your Majesty found no proportion between the share which he thought might be suitable for the Dauphin, and those which concerned the Archduke and the electoral prince of Bavaria; that, to propose the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the places on the coast of Tuscany, for the legitimate heir, without the duchy of Luxemburg, was merely proposing the shadow of the alternative in which this last province was comprehended by the offer of your Majesty; that no portion of the Spanish succession could be selected which would be less suitable to the Dauphin, than those which he proposed to assign to him; that those two kingdoms were not only of no utility to France, but that they would even be a burden to it, and that this was not merely an opinion

founded on theory, but proved by experience; that, when your Majesty had made overtures, you had endeavoured to render matters so equal, that you had left to him the choice of what you deemed the most advantageous to the preservation of the general tranquillity; that your Majesty desired to enter upon a treaty with him; that you wished also to prevent the evils which the demise of his Catholic Majesty might occasion, but that you could not resolve entirely to abandon the interests of the Dauphin; and that you believed that you completely proved the uprightness of your sentiments on the first two articles, by adding to all that you had already proposed, and which you still left to the choice of the king of England; that the share should be ceded to the Dauphin (though the person who had the greatest right) which his Majesty had himself destined for the Archduke, that is to say, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and Milan; that, for the surplus, your Majesty consented that such use should be made of it as might be thought proper by the two princes above-mentioned; that England and Holland might secure their commerce in the West Indies and the Mediterranean, by such treaties as they should think it their interest to make with the Archduke, or with the electoral prince of Bavaria. I said everything that might seem to support the offer which your Majesty had done me the honour to desire me to make.

He replied, that he also wished extremely to enter into a treaty with your Majesty, that he should be much afflicted if anything should happen

which might compel him to a renewal of war; that he was more than ever confirmed in those sentiments since he had conversed with the Earl of Portland, who had given him an account of the manner in which your Majesty had spoken of him; that, however, it was not for him to decide who had the most valid right, the Dauphin, the electoral prince of Bavaria, or the Archduke, but that it could never be agreeable to any party that the whole of Italy should be in your Majesty's hands; that the surplus could not afford a sufficient share for the Archduke and the electoral prince of Bavaria; that Spain could not be separated, nor given to the Archduke without the Low Countries, because only these latter provinces would be left for the electoral prince of Bavaria, which would not be adequate to support him; that the Emperor, if he were to be believed, laid claim to the whole, and was persuaded that the Dauphin had no right.

I replied, that no more was necessary than to produce the treaty which your Majesty had made with the Emperor, by which he gave to your Majesty the Franche Comté, the Low Countries, the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Navarre, to oblige him to acknowledge the right of the Dauphin, or his own weakness.

The conversation grew rather warm. The king of England replied, that he could not help saying that he was astonished at the proposal which I had made him; that, in general, people began by asking more than they required, reserving something on which they might make concessions, but that, far

from this, your Majesty increased your pretensions. I answered, that it was not increasing them, to be contented with the share of a prince who was said to be abandoned, and to have the choice of all the alternatives that had been proposed; that no more was necessary, save to agree that Milan, Final, the places on the coast of Tuscany, the kingdom of Navarre, St. Sebastian and Fontarabia, should be assigned to the Dauphin, and that it would be easy to adjust the rest.

He told me, that if France had Pampeluna, the king of Spain must become its tributary; that he should be delighted to contribute to the aggrandizement of your Majesty, provided it did not put you in the condition of being the master of all your neighbours; and that, once for all, he had not expected to see our demands increase in the course of the negotiation.

I replied, that your Majesty had not expected to see him insist on the first answer which he had made to my first alternative; and that, if I might venture to say so, I was as much surprised at that as he could be.

He said, "You press me so ungently that you will make me say, that it is necessary to augment on the one side and diminish on the other;" but he added, that he did not permit me to make use of what he said to me. I said, "Sire! I shall acquaint the king, my master, with it!" He replied, "Not from me, nor with my consent!" I said, "No, Sire, but by your order." He answered, "I do not give orders to the ambassador of France." I

replied, "I receive this one." Upon this he said something personally complimentary, to which I replied with cordiality. He did not address me in my character of ambassador.

May I venture, Sire, to take the liberty of telling your Majesty, as a devoted and faithful servant, if ever there was one, what I think respecting all I see here. The king of England will certainly agree that Final or the island of Sardinia shall be placed in the hands of the Dauphin, and, perhaps, both of them; but, Sire, do not depend upon any thing more by a treaty. I do not believe that it would be easy to revert to Spain. The Dutch have made him resolute not to consent to that alternative. He is honourable in all he does, his conduct is sincere. In fact, at present I am convinced, Sire, after having examined all the facts with much attention, that your Majesty will not induce him to consent to more than I have just said. You know your own interest: it is not for me to say any more.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Marly, July 4. 1698.

There is much reason to believe that you will not receive any positive answer on the proposals which you have made to the king of England before Parliament breaks up, and that before explaining himself, he will desire to see what subsidies the nation will grant him, and

what troops he will be able to retain. I have indicated to you in my last letter that you are not to press him; and the accounts which I have since received from Madrid, again show me that it is *à propos* to suspend this negotiation, if the king of England does not agree, of himself, to what you have proposed to him. I learn from the Marquis d'Harcourt, that the ambassadors of the Emperor have not obtained any of the demands which they have made in favour of the Archduke; that they have in vain renewed their urgent solicitations, to procure for him the government of Milan*; that the hatred of the Spaniards towards the Germans is still very strong†; that his Catholic Majesty will not have any one speak to him, either of the succession or of the appointment of a prime

* "I rather fear the designs of the Queen will prove abortive, for, by the best informations I can get of the three pretenders, her candidate is like to have the fewest votes. Upon the old Comte de Harrach's pressing the King to have the Archduke Charles sent for to Spain, and when that would not go, that he might be made Governor of Milan, he gave no answer, but, turning to the Queen who was present, said, laughing, *Oyge, muger, el Conde aprieta mucho*, (listen, madam, how pressing is the Count), repeating three or four times the *aprieta mucho*. The French ambassador does no less *aprietar*, and the Nuncio also, in the Pope's name, in favour of the French." — *Stanhope to the Lord Chancellor Methuen of Ireland.* Madrid, July 9.

† "The French gain, and the Germans visibly lose ground every day. The French ambassador's lady is huzzaed as she passes the Plaza and Calle Major. These I look on as artifices industriated, yet their being well received shows the people's inclination." — *Stanhope to his son.* Madrid, July 23.

minister *; that the Emperor seems to be dissatisfied with the queen of Spain; that the confusion in the government is greater than can be imagined; lastly, that the Emperor has not the support in that kingdom, either of troops or of a party formed in his favour; and that the temper of the people is entirely adverse to him, and that they appear to be much inclined to one of my grandsons. Some of the principal members of the council have not made any difficulty in stating as much to the Marquis d'Harcourt; they have told him that they should always be adverse to every thing that the Germans might propose; that the king of Spain himself was wearied with all the pressing applications which the Emperor had caused to be made to him; that, neither the Queen nor any person would now venture to speak to him about receiving troops from the Emperor, or about the person of the Archduke. The Marquis d'Harcourt has also received information that Aragon, Navarre, Andalusia, and the best part of the other provinces of Spain, would be inclined to have recourse to me if the king of Spain should die.†

* "The King will not bear to hear talk of business of any kind, and when the Queen sometimes cannot contain herself, he bids her let him alone, and says she designs to kill him."— *Stanhope to his son.* Madrid, June 11.

† "The general inclination as to the succession is altogether French, their aversion to the Queen having set them against all her countrymen; and if the French king will content himself, that one of his younger grandchildren be king of Spain, without pretending to incorporate the two monarchies together, he will find no opposition either from grandees or common ople."— *Stanhope to his son,* March 14.

In this state of things eagerness to conclude a treaty with the king of England, might do the more injury to the well-being of my affairs, as I learn further that the Spaniards fear nothing more than the partition of their monarchy; and that any information which they should receive that it was agreed upon, would suffice to change all the good feelings which seem now to be manifested in the minds of the people of Spain in favour of one of my grandchildren.*

"What I can discover of these people's inclination is for a French prince, provided they can be assured the same shall never be king of France. By that choice, they think they shall secure peace and quietness at home; but they would rather have the devil than see France and Spain united. It is scarce conceivable the abhorrence they have for Vienna, most of which is owing to the Queen's very imprudent conduct, insomuch that, in effect, all that party is included in her own person and family. They have much kinder thoughts for the Bavarian, but still rather desire a French prince, for the reason aforesaid, to secure them against a war which they see cannot be avoided in either of the other choices."—*Stanhope to his son.* June 11.

* "The marquis d'Harcourt set out for Madrid, the month of December, 1697. The King particularly recommended to him to make all the inquiry he possibly could, into the disposition of the grandees and of the people, in regard of the succession. He was directed to use the same vigilance in getting what information he could, concerning the party which the elector of Bavaria fancied he had in Spain. The Emperor and this prince were at that time the only two who had declared themselves pretenders to the succession; the King had not taken one step since the peace to maintain the Dauphin's right; but the party which favoured the princes of the line of France, though unknown to and unsolicited by his Majesty, was by far the strongest and the most numerous. The Queen's partiality in favour of the Germans, was the cause that the national

However, if the king of England should desire, sincerely, to treat on the footing of one of the alternatives which you have proposed to him, these

aversion to them increased every day. The people, oppressed with taxes, and grown weary of a foreign government, were in hopes that a French prince, establishing a just authority over his subjects, would bring peace and plenty into the kingdom. . . . The marquis d' Harcourt was met with a very cool reception, and he was a long time without being admitted to an audience of the king of Spain. The members of the Council of State, and the chief nobility at the court, followed the example of the indifference which their master showed. For a long time they would not see him ; but the voice of the court varied from that of the people. The people had been long convinced, that Spain would never be happy till they had a French prince upon their throne. The apprehension of a German yoke, and the experience the Spaniards had had for some years of this nation, increased the French party every day ; but it was a party without either a head or strength ; and nobody as yet had ventured to open his mind to the French ambassador. Toward the end of March, he made his first visit to Cardinal Portocarrero, a minister highly respected not only on account of his dignity of Archbishop of Toledo, of Primate of Spain, and Counsellor of State, but also for his personal merit. The Cardinal assured the Marquis d' Harcourt of his profound respect for the King : he added also, his attachment ; but the whole was in general terms. Some days afterwards, when he returned the ambassador's visit, he explained himself with greater precision : " We may talk of affairs," said he to the Marquis, " some day or other : my duty obliges me to pay my first attention to the service of God ; that of my master comes to next ; and next to these, I have the interest of the King your master most at heart." Orbalbacez, Counsellor of State, was the first that spoke to the Marquis d'Harcourt, and continued afterwards to speak to him with greater confidence than any other minister. By degrees, the rest of the chief nobility and great officers of the crown came to visit the French ambassador, and opened themselves to

considerations must not hinder you from executing the first orders which I gave you; and he would himself comprehend the necessity of strictly observing secrecy on all the points which should be agreed upon with him. But, as there is reason to believe that he will not assent to the alternatives, and that he will make new proposals, it is for the good of my service that you should still keep up the negotiation, without breaking it off as I indicated to you in my last letter.

I do not believe that the Earl of Portland will facilitate the conclusion; as he must have arrived by this time, you will remind him that I have told him that I should disavow every thing that might transpire in public respecting proposals which have been made; and you will likewise take an opportunity of saying the same thing to the king of England.

That prince has not yet taken any measures with the Emperor, or with the elector of Bavaria. So long as the negotiation with which you are charged subsists, there is much appearance that it will hinder him from entering into other engagements; and you will be rendering me considerable service by keeping matters in suspense, as neither the Emperor nor the elector of Bavaria can ever

him, each with some confidence not unlike that of Orbalbacez. They were all desirous of having a prince of the House of Bourbon to succeed their master, in expectation that he would maintain the Spanish monarchy undivided, without suffering the least dismemberment of any of the branches, of which that great body was composed."—*Memoirs of Torcy.*

maintain their claims, without the support of the king of England.

Lastly, if the health of the king of Spain should be re-established, as seems very likely, I shall be able to form connexions in the Empire, which may hinder the Emperor from receiving from the princes of Germany all the assistance which they afforded him during the last war.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, July 8. 1698.

I have this moment received the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me on the 4th of this month. There is a means to prolong the negotiation in question for some time, without the king of England being able to suspect that we desire to do so; for I have only to ask for an audience some days after I shall receive your Majesty's answer to what I have had the honour to write to you, and for your Majesty to wait till he makes overtures in his turn, on what he believes may reconcile the difference of opinion between you. Three weeks more will elapse before an answer can be received: he will then be in Holland, and thus time will be gained; but, I must venture to observe to your Majesty, that he is very quick-sighted, and has a correct judgment, and will soon perceive that we are trifling with him if we protract matters too much.

I have seen what is passing in Spain, because

your Majesty has done me the honour to inform me of it. If it were possible that the Marquis d'Harcourt had connexions formed, and strong enough to enable him to assure your Majesty that one of the sons of the Dauphin will be called to wear that crown, I venture to say that, if it is not in concert with the king of England, your Majesty will be again engaged in a war, similar to that which you have so lately terminated; that this kingdom, Holland, a part of the princes of Germany and the elector of Bavaria will have recourse to it at the first step that shall be taken, and, that the Emperor will not forget himself; that the fleets of the first two nations will go to seek for aggrandizement, in the most considerable ports which the Spanish monarchy holds in America; and that all the affairs of the world will fall into a chaos more fearful than they have ever yet seen; that the destiny of Italy will be uncertain; whereas, by a treaty, your Majesty will gain all that part of Europe, except Milan; for, Sire, it may be said, that you will be the master, when you have the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, the places on the coast of Tuscany, and Final; while the Archduke inherits only Milan, from which you may expel him in the sequel, by dividing it among the Swiss, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; that Spain, in the hands of a prince of your house, will be as much your enemy, on the first opportunity, as in the hands of the electoral prince of Bavaria; lastly, that by what I propose, your Majesty will humble the House of

Austria, infinitely increase your power by remaining master of Italy, and will cause Spain to fall into the hands of the Electoral Prince, who has no dominions save that kingdom and the fragments of the Low Countries; that he is young, unmarried, and may die; and that, if that happens, after some years' peace, you are still in the condition to do, on that side, what shall be most suitable to your interests, and this with the more success as you will be aggrandized by the states of Italy.

As for the health of his Catholic Majesty, it is true that it is a little better, but the minister whom the king of England has at Madrid believes that he will not get through the winter; and the physicians of England, with whom those of Spain have been in consultation, are of the same opinion.

The king of England has hitherto acted with great sincerity, and I venture to say, that if he once enters into a treaty with your Majesty he will scrupulously adhere to it.

I have spoken with the Earl of Portland touching the negotiation which I have in my hands, quite in conformity with the sentiments which your Majesty appears to me now to entertain; for I expressed my regret at seeing the hopes which I had conceived on the first conversation which I had the honour to hold with the king, his master, reduced to a long and uncertain negotiation. I believe that your Majesty is not mistaken in believing that he will not facilitate any thing. This comes rather from his obstinacy, and from what your Majesty knows better than I do, than from ill will.

The Earl of Jersey, whom I cannot commend too highly, and who does wonders on the slightest occasion, and who is a third favourite *, has told me, under the injunction of strict secrecy, that I may depend upon going to Holland.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, July 11. 1698.

I learn by your letter of the 3rd of this month, the answer which the king of England has made to the last alternatives which you have proposed to him.

I can say that since the commencement of the negotiation that prince has avoided a conclusion, by reducing the first proposals which he had made; but he cannot maintain that the pretensions on my side have been augmented. I proposed new alternatives according to the various difficulties

* The confidence and affection which King William reposed in the Earl of Jersey, brother-in-law of Portland and brother of lady Orkney, was assuredly very great, for we see in the letters of Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury (May 12. and 17. O.S.) that precisely at that time the King dined frequently at the lodge of Lord Jersey in the park; and no person who did not enjoy the royal favour would have been sent ambassador to France in so delicate a conjuncture. It is to be remarked that King William dined more usually with private individuals than any of his royal predecessors or successors. It has been seen that he dined frequently at Lord Albemarle's with a few favourites, and we see by a letter of Vernon (June 21. O. S.) that a few days after his return the Earl of Portland dined with the King at Lord Ranelagh's.

which he raised. My view has always been to make an equal partition. I have left the choice to him, and nothing proves more clearly that I have observed this equality, than my offer to take, for my son, the dominions destined for the Archduke. But, at the same time, I do not insist on this last proposal, more than on the other alternatives. They still subsist; and the king of England may see on which of the four that you proposed to him, it suits him best to treat. I do not increase my pretensions in abiding by the first propositions which I made; adding, that if that prince sees too great obstacles to the acceptance of one of the first three alternatives, my son will take the share of the Archduke; and I do not see how a greater mark of moderation can be required from the legitimate heir, to whom all the dominions of the Spanish monarchy should naturally belong in case of the death of his Catholic Majesty.

You may have seen, from my preceding letters, that the last proposal which the king of England made you cannot suit me; that the possession of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily would be of no use to me; and that their distance would be a perpetual cause of expense, which would be inevitable for their preservation. I therefore cannot think of treating on such conditions. But, as I have stated to you already that the negotiation with the king of England must not be broken off, you will continue to point out to him the just reasons which I have to treat on the footing of one of the four alternatives; and that I cannot be required to make

them more equal, when I consent to take for my son the same share as the other claimants to the succession, though I consider them as having no right to it.

I have informed you, in my last letter, of the inconvenience there would be at present in precipitating this negotiation. The intelligence which I have received from Madrid, by a courier despatched by the Marquis d'Harcourt, confirms me in my resolution not to treat with the king of England on the partition of the Spanish succession, except on advantageous conditions. I learn that his Catholic Majesty had three fainting fits on the 25th of last month, that the latter threw him into a state of insensibility; and that, though his health has since appeared better, he is still so weak that there is too much reason to fear that he cannot live long.* The disposition of the Spanish people is

* "The 25th, after dinner, the King retired with the Queen on pretence of siesta, and were locked up together about an hour: in the course of the evening they went to the Casa del Campo, where the King walked several turns in the garden, and returning about eight, as he passed the river, complained of a swimming in his head, but it soon went over, and he supped as usual without anything remarkable or extraordinary, either in the quality or quantity of what he eat. Some time after supper, he went into his oratory to his private devotions, attended by the Duque de Uzeda, the gentleman in waiting, where he had not been long before he cried out to the Duque to hold him, for he was falling, as he did immediately in the Duke's arms, deprived of all sense, and so continued a quarter of an hour; he no sooner returned a little out of the first, but was seized by a second fit, and after by a third; in one of the two latter

such as I pointed out to you in my last letter, and my measures are taken in such a manner that I could send an army into that kingdom long before any troops could come to dispute the rights of my son. In such a conjuncture, therefore, it would not be advisable for me to cede, for moderate advantages, those which I may reasonably expect from the condition of my forces, and the inclinations of the Spanish people.

In this view I do not think it proper that you should come over to me, as you propose, and afterwards return to meet the king of England in Holland. That prince would have reason to believe that I had sent for you, to give you new instructions on the negotiation which you have commenced; and if, after having seen me, you were to tell him only the same things that you have told him already, he would more easily persuade himself that I do not wish to treat, and would, perhaps, be more ready to take measures with the Emperor or with the elector of Bavaria.

I do not doubt that you will give all your attention to discover, as far as possible, the conduct which he shall observe with respect to them, when he shall be informed of the last attack of the king of Spain.

he remained about three quarters of an hour."— *Stanhope to his son, James Stanhope.* Madrid, June 29.

"There is not the least hope of this King's recovery, and we are every night in apprehensions of hearing he is dead in the morning, though the Queen lugs him out every day, to make the people believe he is well."— *Stanhope to the Lord Chancellor Methuen of Ireland.* Madrid, July 6.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, July 12. 1698.

I had the honour to inform your Majesty that the affair of the new East India Company had passed in the House of Commons, and that at the first reading of the bill in the House of Lords, the Directors of the old Company required a hearing. This was done yesterday. After their counsel had finished his address, the debates commenced. No affair was ever maintained, on both sides, with such obstinacy as this.* The debates lasted till 9 o'clock in the evening. The bill passed by a majority of nineteen. Lord Godolphin said, aloud, that he would not give his vote for the new Company if they would give him the two millions which they promised to advance. Lord Rochester spoke of those who are at the head of it, as rogues and men who deserved to be hanged. But the Court party has prevailed by its numbers. If this bill had been rejected, all that has been done

* "For my part, since I saw you, I have been in such a storm of business, as never blew out of any quarter before. I was not ignorant of what I undertook, nor insensible of the opposition I should meet with from such a set of men as the East India Company; but, really, the dispute was more obstinate than I did expect. I saw no other way, but something of that kind, to make any tolerable end of the session, and fix the civil list; and, therefore, I thought it ought to be risked; but, in the progress, the contest ran so high, I repented, heartily, it was ever attempted. But, notwithstanding all the opposition that the wit or malice of the party could give in the House, we kept our scheme entire."—*Mr. Montague to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, July 16. O. S.

in Parliament for these six months past would have been useless; funds would have been wanting for everything, beginning with the civil list. For it is from the money which will be raised by this loan that the assignments are to be paid, which were given for a year and a half on the Excise, the Post Office, and the Customs, the revenue of which is what is given to the King for his life.

Great doubts are entertained whether this Company will be able to accomplish all that it has promised; and, as by the charter, which has not been annulled, the old Company has three years to withdraw the property which it possesses in the East Indies, and as it is in despair, people are persuaded that the business which they will have with each other will occasion an infinity of proceedings during the next Parliament, and that they will ruin each other.

The King has purchased the seat of Lord Cardigan for 12,000 guineas, to give it to the Earl of Albemarle.*

The affair of the refugee French merchants, though of less consequence, does not fail to make much noise. The Lords, who have easily perceived

* I never could hear there was any intention of the King to buy Cornbury, and I suppose you hear my Lord Albemarle has agreed for Quiddenham Park, and then there can be no farther danger; for, if there was any thing in the report, it was designed for him. I believe he will affect the contrary party to his rival (Portland), and seem to make a fine seat and settlement in England." — *Mr. Montague to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* July 16. O. S.

that the said merchants had not determined to declare themselves guilty, but by a secret understanding with the King, who desired to avoid the consequences which this affair might still have had, seem to pique themselves on being called to try, with much ceremony, an affair which everybody thought to be ended before it came to them; that they passed the whole sitting the day before yesterday in having the accused interrogated in order to have proofs against those who had advised them to confess their fault, without defending themselves. They endeavoured to attack a merchant named Seiper, by whom it is said the advice was given, and who is the intimate friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I believe that they failed in obtaining proofs, but, in order to render the agreement useless, they mean to tax these merchants, each in proportion to his property; and, though the fine ought naturally to come to the King, who had treated for it beforehand, they will give it to an hospital, for carrying on its objects.*

* "Notwithstanding the severe laws that were in force against such as transported English wool to foreign parts, who were commonly called Owlers, yet many of them continued their clandestine practice. The Parliament, this session, applied themselves with great diligence to discover, and punish such offenders, who carried on a fraudulent commerce with France, and, to the great damage of the royal lustring company, had, for divers years past, surreptitiously brought in great quantities of French alamodes and lustrings. The first occasion of this discovery was a pass from the admiral of France for an English ship, that served at once for the owling and smuggling trades;

I forgot to say that this prince has spoken privately to all the members of Parliament on the affair of the East India trade; and that he obliged the Duke of Leeds to absent himself during the discussion, because there was an accusation against him of having taken a sum of money, three years ago, from the old Company. For this reason he

which pass, at the breaking out of the last conspiracy, was intercepted at the post-office. This pass had a long time remained useless in the hands of the Secretary of State; but it being communicated to M. Hilary Reneu, a French protestant merchant, who was the chief manager of the lustring company, he, by this help, and other concurring indications, at last found out the smugglers, and, having caused their books to be seized, petitioned the House of Commons that these books, letters and other papers, in which the contrivances to ruin the lustring manufacture appear, might be laid before the House and examined. The Commons referred the matter to the committee of trade, at the head of which was then Sir Rowland Gwin, who made a full discovery of the smuggling traders. Sir Rowland having made his report of the full matter to the House of Commons, it was resolved on the 20th of April, O. S., that some of these smugglers be impeached before the Lords of high crimes and misdemeanours; that the rest of the smugglers be prosecuted by the attorney-general and the solicitor-general. Eight of them confessed themselves guilty. Whereupon (July 4th) the Commons went up to the bar of the Lord's House, and their Speaker in their name having demanded judgment against the offenders, the Lords imposed a fine of 10,000*l.* upon Stephen Signoret; of 3,000*l.* on Réné Baudouin; of 1500*l.* on John Goudet and Nicholas Santini; of 1000*l.* on Peter de Hearce, John Pearce, and John Lemaitre; and of 500*l.* on David Barreau; and ordered that they should be imprisoned in Newgate until they had paid their respective fines; and the Commons addressed the King, that those fines might be appropriated to Greenwich hospital, which he ordered accordingly."— *Tindal.*

does not attend the Cabinet Council, though he is the President. *

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, July 15. 1698.

After having informed you of my intentions by my letter of the 11th of this month, I received that which you wrote to me on the 8th. I had already made some of the reflections contained in it; I have likewise examined with attention all the inconveniences which may be foreseen, as well from suspending the negotiation commenced with the king of England, as from concluding it. In the end, those of the first alternative appeared to me to be the greatest. I see that to defer treating with that prince, is indirectly to urge him to enter into engagements with the Emperor, with the elector of Bavaria, and with the other princes of the Empire, whom it will be easy for him to bring over to his views; that those treaties might be concluded during the stay

* In the year 1695 (April 27th) the Duke of Leeds was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors by the House of Commons, for having taken a present of 5000 guineas from the East India Company, as a proof of gratitude for his assistance in procuring them a new charter. In answer to the articles brought against him, he denied having received this money; but his servant, whose testimony only could have cleared this point, having disappeared, the inquiry was postponed to another session, and at length was suffered to drop.

which he is going to make in Holland; and, that the league having been formed, before the death of the king of Spain, it would be impossible to maintain the legitimate rights of my son to this succession, when it shall be open, without exciting in all Europe a new war as violent as the last.

It is certain that the disposition of the people of Spain, the state of my army, and the measures which I have taken, would give me well-founded hopes of success in this war. But though we know when it begins, we do not know the end. Nothing is more certain than the miseries which it brings with it, and the sufferings of the people; and after having sacrificed such great advantages to restore peace to my subjects, no interest appears to me more urgent than that of preserving for them the tranquillity which they enjoy.

Thus, the arguments on both sides, being duly weighed, these considerations oblige me now to give you new instructions. The partition which the king of England has made is, indeed, not advantageous to my son, whom I consider as the only legitimate heir of the Spanish monarchy. I likewise foresee the expenses which it will be necessary to incur, and the embarrassment which will ensue in preserving the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the places on the coast of Tuscany, and that the island of Sardinia and Final will yield but small advantages; that, on the other hand, if Milan be given to the Archduke it will render the Emperor master of Lombardy. But, as it is also contemplated to hinder this prince from uniting all the

dominions possessed by the House of Austria; to establish a king in Spain independent of that House, such as the electoral prince of Bavaria would be; and lastly, to prevent the measures which the king of England might take with the Emperor, if he thought that I had a design to obtain the whole of the succession to the king of Spain, I find that there are still sufficient advantages for my crown, according to what you have divined of the last intentions of the king of England, if you cannot conclude on the footing of one of the alternatives which you have proposed to him.

I would therefore consent that my son should have for his share only the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the places on the coast of Tuscany, Final, and the island of Sardinia; that the Archduke should have Milan; that the electoral prince of Bavaria should possess the remainder of the monarchy, viz. Spain, the Indies, the Low Countries, as they now are, the islands of Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, the Philippines, and, in general, all the present dependencies of the Spanish monarchy, with the exception of the states, which would fall to the share of my son and of the Archduke.

But, though the attack which the king of Spain has had, the departure of the king of England for Holland, and the measures which he may there take with the Emperor, or with the elector of Bavaria, are so many reasons for concluding the treaty before a new league is formed with these princes, precipitation would be incompatible both with the success of the negotiation and of my

dignity. I am persuaded that of this you are well convinced, that you see that by displaying to the king of England too much eagerness to conclude, he would be induced to make new demands for his own interest, and that of the United Provinces; in short, that in my present condition, it is for the other powers to fear the renewal of the war, and that it must appear that a view to the good of Europe alone obliges me to devote my whole attention to the preservation of the general tranquillity. I therefore rely entirely on your prudence in not taking any precipitate step.

The conduct which you have to observe on this occasion, is to continue to treat with the king of England on the subject of the alternatives which you have proposed to him. It will be easy for you to do this, as you have not broken off the negotiation, nor considered as positive the answers which he has hitherto given you on this subject.

You will make use of the same arguments that are contained in my preceding letters, to induce him to choose one of the alternatives which you have proposed to him. Lastly, if what you say to him be ineffectual, and if he still insists on the share which he has proposed for my son, you will remind him that Final and the island of Sardinia were comprehended in this share, as he told you himself. You will add that, though I have not given you orders to accept this proposal, and though all my preceding letters contain only the four alternatives, the choice of which I leave to that prince, you are so persuaded of my desire

to maintain peace, and to enter with him into the engagement necessary for that end, that you are ready to draw up the draft of a treaty on these conditions: viz. that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the places on the coast of Tuscany, Final, and the island of Sardinia, shall belong to my son; Milan to the Archduke; and the remainder of the Spanish monarchy, in the state in which it now is, to the electoral prince of Bavaria.

As these conditions are the same that he has proposed, we shall see whether he will treat with good faith. If he agrees to have the draft of a treaty made out, he will perhaps require some place of safety in the West Indies for the commerce of the English and the Dutch, or that they shall be allowed to trade directly. You will show him, that if the electoral prince of Bavaria become king of Spain, those two nations can have no grounds for jealousy respecting the commerce of the Indies; that the Spanish monarchy subsists, in this respect, as it now is; that, consequently, there is no change to be made, and that if the English and the Dutch demand either ports or direct commerce in the Indies, I shall demand the same thing for my subjects, who would have much more reason to fear for their commerce if those two nations should gain that advantage.

Lastly, if the king of England agrees to have the draft of a treaty drawn out to send it to me, you will tell him that I have ordered you, as in fact I did some time ago, to learn his sentiments respecting the manner in which he means to act towards

the Emperor with regard to this treaty. You will likewise ask him what line of conduct he thinks he ought to pursue with respect to the elector of Bavaria; but, at the same time, you will remind him that the negotiation must not be communicated, either to the one or to the other, until the treaty be signed; and that you have declared to him that I should disavow all that might be disclosed respecting this secret, conformably to the same declaration which he has made to you.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, July 15. 1698.

The Parliament was prorogued this morning till the 2d of August. It is believed that it will be dissolved in five or six days, because the intrigues that are carried on for the elections in the counties are so great, and the expenses of the entertainments which are given so considerable, that it is supposed that the King will take measures which will enable him to issue the writs for calling a new Parliament before his departure, which otherwise he could not do till after his return. He will put an end to this Parliament three months sooner than would be the case by the triennial bill, under which it would terminate in October.

This prince will go to Holland within a week from this time, and will stay there nearly three months; he has given notice of his intended journey this morning, by ordering the Earl of Essex and

the Earl of Selkirk to accompany him; they are the only Englishmen who will go with him.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, July 5—15. 1698.

At length I have this day prorogued the Parliament to the 2d of August, and intend to dissolve it by proclamation the day after to-morrow, and in a few days to call a new one.* This has been an intolerably long session, very embarrassing and difficult, and it had taken an unfavourable turn at the beginning, but, God be thanked, it has ended better than I could have hoped. I can now be certain, with God's help, of setting out in a fortnight at latest.

I think you have replied very well to everything M. van Dyckwelt proposed. I should by no means be of opinion that Luxemburg should be transferred to any prince for the very valid reasons you allege. It would also be very prejudicial to the great negotiation, of which I shall be able to give you more explanations by the next post, as Count

* "This day the Parliament was prorogued to the 2nd of August, but with a purpose, as we are told, of dissolving it by proclamation the next council day, and in the same proclamation to give notice of issuing writs for a new choice."—*Lord Somers to the duke of Shrewsbury*, July 5–15.

The Parliament was in fact dissolved by proclamation the 7th of August, O. S., and the new summoned for the 24th, O. S., of the same month.

Tallard is to have an audience of me to-morrow at his request, having received an answer from his court about what passed in the last. I agree with you entirely in the arguments you make use of touching this matter, and will be guided accordingly as much as possible. I am much pleased with the project M. van Dyckwelt spoke to you about, of erecting a kind of council or junto at Brussels, (to which one deputy from the States, and one nominated by me should be admitted,) but we ought to know what value our votes would have, what would be the authority of this council, and what subjects should be treated of in it;—points on which M. van Dyckwelt should get further intelligence.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, July 16. 1698.

I have had an audience of the king of England this morning. I told him that I had received your Majesty's answer to the letter which I had the honour to write to you after the last conversation which I had with him; that your Majesty had given me two grand instructions: one, to make him understand that you had not added to the proposals in the course of the negotiation; the other, that you had always observed that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily could not be considered as the basis of any alternative; and that you had always said that there was no portion of the Spanish succession

which less suited you than those two kingdoms; that the first article justified itself, since all the proposals which had been brought forward still subsisted, and were made with so much equality that the choice had always been left to him; that the last could not be considered on the footing of too great a pretension, since it was one of the shares destined to the Archduke, whom your Majesty considered as having no right to the succession, being persuaded that there was no legitimate heir except the Dauphin; that it might be believed, with much more reason, that you had diminished your offers, since it could not be said that there was any equality between Spain and the Indies for a prince of the House of France, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily for the Dauphin; in short, that these two last states were of no advantage whatever to your Majesty; that, far from that, they would cost you both trouble and money to maintain them; that, in a word, you could not but think that he would make other overtures; and, even, that they would be of such a nature as to give hopes of the conclusion of the treaty in which every body was interested.

He replied, that he looked on the alternatives which your Majesty had proposed with a very different eye, and that, besides, he was not of your opinion respecting the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; that every alternative of your Majesty had been more and more advantageous; that he did not speak of the last because it rendered us masters of all Italy without any dispute; that those countries,

supported by so great a power as that of your Majesty, ought to be looked on in a very different light from that in which they must be considered in the hands of the Archduke; and, that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the places on the coast of Tuscany, if added to France, were already more than sufficient to make your Majesty master of that part of Europe; that he desired the continuance of peace; that he was ready to concur in everything that might secure the tranquillity of so many millions of souls who might be harassed by the opening of the Spanish succession, but that there was a general interest from which he could not deviate; that he believed he had gone as far as he was permitted to do in the points which had been agreed upon; that he could not conceal his surprise at seeing that we were farther than ever from agreeing in opinion than we had yet been; that he would have been very glad to know what he had to expect before setting out for Holland; once more, that he had hoped that matters would have gone on, but he saw that they were quite come to a stand.

I replied, "Sire, the king, my master, has sought for all the expedients which might contribute to the conclusion of a treaty. When your Majesty found difficulties in these proposals, he made others: do likewise; the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily do not suit us at all. In the third conversation which I had the honour to have with you, I observed, that without Luxemburg, the king, my master, did not think of them; yet you have always stopped at this

point. Change the proposal, Sire, and bring forward something which may be more suitable to us."

He replied, that he had no overture to make, that he had no claims on the Spanish succession; that, therefore, he had only to wait; that if those of your Majesty were not of such a nature as to interest all Europe, he took pleasure in entering into them; but, once more, he could not conceal his astonishment that a treaty like this should remain suspended at a time when he expected to see it advance; that it was necessary to know what to expect.

As I perceived that he repeatedly spoke of his surprise and his astonishment, I thought it proper to drop a word about Spain, on which I am still convinced that he believes your Majesty has fixed your eye. In order, in the first place, to sound him once more on this point, and to make him believe that all that has been said might have a reference to the design of bringing him back to that article, I therefore said to him, that I begged him to consent to my calling his attention to what had passed, on his part, respecting the fact in question; that at first he had proposed Spain and the Indies for one of the sons of the Dauphin, with restrictions, it is true, to which he could not himself have believed that we would consent, but which being removed might furnish a reasonable foundation for a treaty; that on this your Majesty had answered his proposal, and had made a new one, giving him the choice of that which he should consider the most advisable; that in his answer he

had changed nothing in the article which concerned Spain, and had cut off Luxemburg from the alternative which your Majesty proposed; that on the objection which your Majesty saw he would raise to seeing this latter place in our hands, your Majesty had made an entirely new proposal, and had endeavoured to find expedients with respect to Spain; that by the answer which he had given to this last overture, he had confined himself to Naples and Sicily, had been silent with respect to Spain, on the pretext of a difference of opinions, and had remained firm to his proposal, without varying and without entering into any expedient.

He said, that it was true that we had given different forms to our proposals, but that they were all so much to our advantage that not one of them could be agreed upon. To this I replied what I have already often repeated, and ended by telling him that I confined myself to asking if he had nothing new to communicate to your Majesty. He said, that he still entertained the same sentiments; and as I recapitulated his proposals without speaking of what he had said to me the last time, that it was necessary to raise on one side and to abate on the other, he said a few words, putting me in mind of it without clearly expressing himself. After this I said, that since his journey to Holland was announced, I begged him to tell me what I was to do: he replied, that he would not deprive himself of the pleasure of seeing me, and that I was at liberty to go to Holland; I made my obeisance and withdrew.

I do not offer any fresh opinion on all that he said to me; if I had anything to add to my preceding letter, it would be to confirm your Majesty in the opinion you seem to entertain, that Lord Portland will not facilitate anything. I called at his house after leaving the King. I did not find him at home, but he came here this afternoon. He remained three hours in my cabinet, always expressing the regret which he felt at seeing that a matter, which he most ardently desired, appeared to be remote. I spoke to him to the same effect. When he saw that I did not make any fresh overtures he spoke of the necessity in which the King was placed, to know what he had to depend upon. He gave me to understand that the offer which the Marquis d'Harcourt made in Spain to consent to the successor whom his Catholic Majesty might choose, — provided he were not of the House of Austria, — and who would have been agreeable to the king of England in case of a treaty, could not be considered without jealousy when he should retire, and when it might be believed that it was only a means to ingratiate himself.

He spoke at great length of the different alternatives, and I saw clearly from his whole conversation that they feared delays. Lastly, he several times repeated that there were interests which must be attended to, and that there were measures to be taken which were suspended by waiting for your Majesty's answers; that it would be a month before receiving that relating to my last audience,

because the King departs on Saturday week; that he is going to the Hague and to Hounslaerdike; and that for that time he would not be at Loo when I might acquaint him with your last intentions.

I pretended to have understood him to say that he broke off all engagements, in order to see what reply he would make. He exclaimed, vehemently, and said, No! that I had not understood him rightly; that the proposals which had been made still subsisted, and that nothing was farther from what he meant to say than that which I thought he had said.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, July 8—18. 1698.

I have been so busy to-day that I have only time to tell you, in a few words, that in the conversation I had the day before yesterday with Count Tallard, he told me he had received orders to make no new proposals, but to insist upon the former; and his language tended chiefly to insinuate that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were of little importance to France, and too small a portion for the Dauphin's right of succession. I also persisted, on my part, in my former proposals; and he has undertaken to write again to his court. I begin to doubt much of the success of this negotiation, particularly since the news arrived of the king of Spain's relapse, of which you must have been circumstan-

tially informed. All this causes me no little disquietude.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, July 22. 1698.

I had spoken to the king of England the day before your Majesty's last despatch was delivered to me, and this is the reason that I have hitherto remained silent; and as time and patience are the means which this prince employs to accomplish his ends, it appears to me that he must be combatted with the same weapons. There is the more reason to be silent at present, because he does not expect to receive your Majesty's last answer till after he has crossed the sea; because it is to be feared that the opinions of the Pensionary Heinsius will incline him to war; because I fancied I perceived some shock at the illness of the king of Spain; because Lord Portland appeared to me to be astonished when I intimated to him, without affectation, that your Majesty was informed of the illness of that prince when I received the last orders, which I communicated to the king, his master; because the latter went on Saturday to Windsor, where he has resolved to expend more than a million on the buildings and the gardens, which are works of peace; and, finally, because he has not given any commands, since the last intelligence, for preparations relative to the navy. In short, Sire, it seems to me that there is no reason to be in haste.

Public business is rather active; the affairs of the

East India Companies make a terrible noise; twenty Lords have protested against the decision of the House of Peers in favour of the new Company. It is feared that the great opposition made by the old Company may hinder the subscriptions, for which the book is to be entered to-morrow. Without them there will be no money for the civil list, nor for the troops. Thus these are real embarrassments, of which your Majesty will be informed.

The Earl of Sunderland arrived last Thursday; he has returned from the country with the resolution of taking a share in public business, and of no longer being behind the curtain. It is even said that he was ready to take the post of Secretary of State, provided that the King would reconcile him with the Lord Chancellor and all that cabal, which is composed of the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Orford, Lord Wharton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other less important persons. But the latter, far from acceding to the sentiments of the King on this subject, have declared that they could no longer take a part in his affairs if the Earl of Sunderland either returned to office or resided in London, and it is believed that he will be obliged to retire.* All this does not fail to displease and embarrass him greatly.

* "This contest (between the old and the new East India Companies), and some other accidents, have freed us from a companion that was intended us, who would have been worse than all this; but I think we are got clear of that fire-ship for ever. If he annoys us now, it must be hoisting the enemy's colours; and under that declaration, I do not fear him." — *Mr. Montague to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* July 16. O. S.

The King has done another thing which is vehemently decried. During the last Parliament he spread a report that he should send back the blue guards to Holland, and that the five regiments of the French Protestant refugees, which are at Ghent, would enter the service of the States General. At present, people begin openly to assert that the blue guards will remain here, and that the five regiments will go to Ireland; and, added to this, that it is a foreigner who commands there: the nation frets and fumes much.

People of his own party cry out more loudly than the others against his voyage to Holland. In short, there is some heat here; but he is master of the troops and of Holland.

It is true that there may be preparations for the next Parliament; all this causes great excitement, and does not come unseasonably at this conjuncture. His departure has been deferred for some days, on account of these various considerations.

The elector of Bavaria is to go to Loo, where he will pass five or six days; and it begins to be believed that the king of England will take a journey to Zell.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Meudon, July 24. 1698.

I see, by the account which you give me of what the king of England said to you in the last audience, that he merely repeated the same things already

discussed in the preceding audiences, and it would not be difficult to reply, and to show that the delay of the negotiation ought not to be attributed to me; that I have afforded all the facilities which depended upon me to bring it to a conclusion, by proposing various plans comprising equal alternatives, leaving to the king of England the choice of that which should come to the share of my son, notwithstanding his legitimate right to succeed to the whole monarchy. But as you have executed my orders in this article, you have shown that the changes which you have made in your proposals were only to facilitate the success of the negotiation; as, in offering some new alternative, you have declared that I still left to him the choice of the first, I do not see that you can at present add anything to all that you have said. I shall soon see the effect which the order that I gave you in my letter of the 15th will produce; and the reply of the king of England will throw a light on his real intentions, and on what I have to expect from him.

I am persuaded that you have taken all needful precautions not to manifest too much eagerness on this occasion, knowing that it would be equally contrary to my dignity and to the success of the affair.

You may give an assurance, that it is entirely false that the Marquis d'Harcourt has said that I would approve of the choice which his Catholic Majesty might make of a successor, provided it were not a prince of the House of Austria; I am

very far from expressing myself in this manner, and nothing has been said in Spain, on my part, on the subject of the succession.

I can hardly believe that the king of England will send the Earl of Portland as ambassador to Madrid (as was rumoured). If he took such a step he would probably do so, according to all appearances, only with a view to discover what weight that party has which favours the rights of my son, or to confide to the king of Spain the measures which I may have taken for the partition of his succession. In a word, the object of this mission could be no other than to thwart my designs. You must be very attentive to discover what foundation there may be for this intelligence, and you will remind the king of England, as I have already desired you to do, when you have an opportunity, that I have always said that I would disavow every thing that might be made known of this treaty till it was signed.

It is the more important to keep it secret till it is settled how it shall be made known to the Emperor and to the parties interested; since I learn by all the letters of the Marquis d'Harcourt, that nothing will be more likely to change the favourable inclinations of the Spaniards and to alienate them entirely, than to be made acquainted with the project formed for the dismemberment of their monarchy.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, July 25. 1698.

The subscription book for the new East India Company was opened to-day. The old Company went, the day before yesterday, to Kensington, but the King would not see them. They returned thither again yesterday morning, when he had them spoken to. They have named fifty of their number, to whom they have given full powers to enter the new Company; but as they will not blend their commerce, and reserve to themselves the liberty of trading on their own account, during the three years which are granted them to withdraw their property, no great hope is entertained of this accommodation.

I shall set out, on Monday or Tuesday next, to pass the night at Calais, whence I shall have the honour of giving your Majesty a more particular account of my proceedings.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Kensington, July 16–26. 1698.

Though I have fully explained to the Chancellor of Ireland my sentiments upon Irish affairs, I wish to write to you, to tell you that it was never of such importance as, at present, to have a good session of parliament, not only with respect to my affairs in that kingdom, but still more with respect to my affairs here. The chief thing to prevent

the Irish Parliament taking notice of what has passed in the English one; and that you make effectual laws for the linen manufacture, and to discourage, as far as possible, the woollen *: these are two of the most material points you have to accomplish; and the third is the necessary supply for the maintenance of the army, of which you know the importance, and to try to get as much as you can, since, after this session, I should be very glad not to be obliged, for a good while, to have another parliament in Ireland. I have sent orders for embarking at Ostend the five French regiments †; and, instead of my own regiment of

* The Irish people had begun to show an unwonted spirit of independence, and the exclusive pretensions of the Irish Parliament to govern the kingdom, that is, as was said, to shake the authority of the English Parliament, had been asserted in the famous pamphlet of Molyneux: *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated,* which he had presented to the Lords Justices. Such pretensions awakened the jealousy of the English legislature, and not only a vote of censure was passed (May 21.) in the House of Commons, against this obnoxious production, but the refractory proceedings of the Irish parliament, in the former session, were strongly condemned, as emanating from the same source. Besides which, to check the competition between the woollen fabrics of the two kingdoms, an address was presented by the House of Commons, requesting the King to take measures for the protection of the woollen manufacture, which was considered as the staple branch of the British trade. To make some amends, however, for this restriction, a recommendation was annexed, that similar regulations should be adopted for the advantage of the linen manufacture, which was regarded as the peculiar and natural fabric of Ireland.

† "The ordering the French troops for Ireland is a most un-

dragoons of Eppinger, I will send you two regiments of foot, which will be much the same as to expense. Blathwayte will write to you about the establishment and appointment of the pay of the forces.

I must tell you I am well satisfied with the Chancellor of Ireland.* At his first coming here to the Parliament, he committed a great oversight, which has got him many enemies, and all the ministry here are much incensed against him, as well as the Whig party; but in Ireland, it is just the contrary, it is the Tories: so he will find it hard to behave in such a manner as not to be involved in difficulties. If bad success attends you in Parliament, it is certain that the blame will here be laid on him. I thought it necessary to inform you of this circumstance, that you may take your measures accordingly. Be always assured of my esteem.

accountable thing. It was never owned, but I took occasion, from the common reports, to speak of it in a manner which, I believe, gave offence. Your Grace mentions a great many unanswerable arguments against it. Among the reasons I used, one was, I foresaw, it would certainly ruin my Lord Galway, which I thought would have had some weight, but I find other reasons were stronger."—*Lord Chancellor Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, August 16. O. S.

* Jonathan Methuen. The office of Chancellor of Ireland had been conferred on this gentleman, at the recommendation of Lord Sunderland, and it was probably on that account, rather than for his abilities that, as Lord Somers wrote to the Duke of Shrewsbury (Oct. 25. O. S.), "he had more credit than any body, though the King knew he was equally the aversion of the whigs and tories, both here and in Ireland."

P.S. I shall set out in two days for Holland. I send you back the Prince of Conti's letter, and approve much of your answer to him. I had not an opportunity to let you know it before.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Calais, July 30. 1698.

After presenting M. d'Herbault * to the king of England in his cabinet, I approached him before I left it, and said that I had learnt that the news which he had received from Madrid was only of the 28th of June, that the Marquis d'Harcourt had written to me on the 30th, and that the king of Spain continued better. He answered that it gave him pleasure to hear this, and requested me to tell him when I expected to receive the answers of your Majesty. I said that the courier, who was the bearer of my despatches, had left only the day before; and that the report of his departure on Saturday had hindered me from being in haste, as I did not expect to be able to inform him of your intentions till he was in Holland. He said, that since such was the case he could not expect to know them before his departure, because he had observed that I was always ten or twelve days in receiving the orders of your Majesty. I

* M. d'Herbault was one of the French commissioners for adjusting the commercial affairs between the two countries.

told him I would lose no time in informing him of those which I should receive on this occasion.

I then left the cabinet, and as I had received the letter which you did me the honour to write on the 15th, I thought that, whether to show that I did not endeavour to delay, or to have an explanation of what was meant by "augmenting," it would not be amiss for me to see the Earl of Portland (which I did) to tell him, that the king, his master, appeared to me to have calculated with great attention the time when my courier might return; that I was not astonished that he desired to know what he had to expect in a conjuncture which appeared urgent; that I could not discover what your Majesty would order me to say to the king, his master, but that having been informed of the illness of the king of Spain, when you had ordered me to give to this prince the answer which he knew I had given two days ago, I would hardly believe that the first which should come would be conformable with what he desired; that I should be within reach of Loo, on Tuesday next, the day the king of England will arrive there; that I shall pass along the frontier of France, and, consequently, be able to send a courier to Versailles; and that if he would explain to me precisely what the king, his master, meant by the word "augment," I should be able the first time I should have the honour to see him, to bring him two answers instead of one; that he saw very well that I spoke without orders, since I could not have received any since my last audience; that I

left it to him to give me an answer or not, but that it was natural to suppose that that of your Majesty would turn on the explanation of that expression. I added all that it was proper to say further, of the desire which I felt to have the honour of signing such a treaty, in order to repeat my visit for that purpose.

He came to me on the following day, and told me that the King was obliged to me for going on so well with the affair as I did, but that he did not know what to propose. After that, speaking of himself, he added, that he had heard me say that I valued Milan more than the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; that as I spoke of myself, he did not touch upon that point. I confessed that it was true that I had said so, in a private conversation, to show him how little these two latter states suited us. He gave me to understand that if your Majesty was of the same opinion, the Emperor might perhaps prefer the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to Milan.

I said that the Emperor could not be consulted, for two reasons; first, because we must not, and cannot, communicate anything to him for the present; secondly, because it is not proper that the Dauphin, who has the natural right, should leave the choice of an alternative to the Archduke, who has none.

With respect to this article we went no further, but I believe that if your Majesty prefers Milan they might be induced to consent to it. At last, after an infinity of words, he said that if the affair

depended only on the Islands of Sardinia and Corsica, he believed that an arrangement might be made. I replied, that the Island of Corsica belonged to the Genoese, and that, as for the Island of Sardinia, it was a country of such small value that it could not contribute either to conclude a bargain or to break it off. He did not make any other overture, but I have seen by an increase of courtesy, and by this proposition, and also by a visit which I have received from the Earl of Albemarle, that the latest accounts from Spain have unsettled them; I do not know how far, but they have produced an effect in favour of the proposed treaty.

I am induced by these circumstances to despatch a courier to your Majesty, in order to know what you consider most advantageous to yourself, Milan, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and Sardinia, adding to that which you shall choose the places on the coast of Tuscany. I have not yet said anything of Final, and he has not offered it to me.

I likewise take the liberty of asking your Majesty whether you will approve that, at the first audience which I shall have at Loo, I shall propose the following alternatives, and which you prefer to the others: that is to say, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the places on the coast of Tuscany, and Luxemburg, without being able to refortify it, contenting yourself with the country which depends upon it, which is on this side of the Sure; or Milan, the places on the coast of Tuscany, Final, Fontarabia, St. Sebastian, and what the Spaniards

possess of Navarre, with Pampeluna, rased, and without liberty to refortify it; or Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the places of Tuscany, Fontarabia and St. Sebastian; or, instead of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, the kingdom of Navarre, on the above-named conditions. This will give me an opportunity to return to the subject, and I shall always end with what is said at the end of the letter of the 15th, if I cannot do better.

I likewise beg your Majesty to inform me, which you prefer, Final or Fontarabia and St. Sebastian; the kingdom of Navarre, with Pampeluna rased; or the small province of Guipuscoa, in which the two last places are situated; in order that if I find an occasion, and the health of his Catholic Majesty induced them to relax, I may take advantage of it, in that point which may be most conformable to what your Majesty judges to be for your interest.

The king of England left London yesterday and embarked at Margate this morning. His countenance was expressive of the joy which he felt at going to Holland: he took no pains whatever to conceal it from the English, and, to say the truth, they speak very openly about it.

I have reason to believe that he will reduce the cavalry and dragoons only by two men in a company, and the infantry by seven men; the first will remain at forty and the others at fifty men. He not only makes the five regiments of French refugees which are at Ghent pass into Ireland, but also the regiment of Eppinger which was formerly

in Holland, and which has been in the pay of England since the Revolution, as well as the blue guards and the regiment of Portland, which will not cross the sea.

I have now only to inform your Majesty of what concerns the subscriptions of the new East India Company for the loan of two millions sterling, which it contracts at 8 per cent.; and to tell you that it was subscribed in three days. The king of England could not help testifying his astonishment at it; and I can tell your Majesty that there was not a man in London who did not expect quite the contrary: I say this without exception, beginning with the Treasury itself.*

Those who were Lords Justices last year are so again, with the exception of the Duke of Shrewsbury, who has declined: as for the Earl of Sutherland, he goes to the country, and these two places have been given to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to the Earl of Marlborough. The latter was on such bad terms with the King two years ago, that that prince then said, that if he were a private person he should be obliged to fight a duel with him.

* "Though, since the act passed, there has been more industry to run it down, as a chimera and an idle notion, the subscriptions began on Thursday, at one, and were completed to-night, at seven. I must confess I always thought it could not fail, if the act passed, but the success is beyond all expectation; and it is certain there might have been another million taken on the same terms." — *Mr. Montague to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, July 16. O. S.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, August 5. 1698.

A courier from the Marquis d'Harcourt arrived on the same day as the last that you despatched to me. He informs me of the inclinations which he finds in Spain in favour of one of my grandsons. It is not only the greater part of the population that does justice to the right of the legitimate heir, but the principal men in the kingdom. They foresee the misfortunes which that monarchy has to fear, if it falls into other hands than those of one of my grandsons; and they do not hesitate to say that the king of Spain, being the master during his life, cannot choose a successor to the prejudice of the laws and constitution of the kingdom. Many promise to declare themselves immediately on the demise of the king, their master. They affirm that others, whom fear keeps back, would follow their example in such a conjuncture; that the partisans of the Emperor, hated by the whole nation, would soon be forsaken, and I do not see that any one has hitherto declared for the electoral prince of Bavaria.

Thus everything favours the just rights of my son. I am in a condition to maintain them by causing the troops which I have on the frontiers of Spain to enter that kingdom if the Catholic King should die. I am able to prevent all the enterprizes of the Emperor, and of those who would give him assistance; but, in truth, I cannot do so without renewing a war as bloody as that from which Europe has just been delivered. The desire of preserving the

general tranquillity, is the chief motive which has actuated me in taking measures with the king of England to hinder peace from being disturbed on the death of the king of Spain. It is certain that when the first proposals on the subject were made, I did not see so much facility as there appears to be at present, to have one of my grandsons recognized as successor to that crown. But as the repose of Christendom is still the principal object which I have in view, the more appearance there is of my being able to secure the Spanish succession to one of my grandsons, the greater are the marks which I give of my moderation, and of my desire to preserve peace; by contenting myself with a portion of the succession, and by sacrificing such great interests to the repose of my subjects, and the tranquillity of all Europe.

The last accounts, therefore, which I have received from Madrid, do not make any change in the resolution which I had taken, to treat with the king of England; the bad state of the health of his Catholic Majesty induces me, on the contrary, to conclude this treaty as speedily as possible; in such a manner, however, that too much precipitation shall not prejudice the negotiation.

On these grounds it is my wish that, immediately after the arrival of the courier whom I send back to you, you shall inform the Earl of Portland, as you have agreed with him, that you have received my orders; and when you are admitted to an audience of the king of England, you will tell him that you might still propose to him to stipulate

for the share of my son, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the places on the coast of Tuscany, and Luxemburg; but that that prince having always manifested an equal repugnance, both on his own part and that of the Dutch, to see me master of that place, you do not propose that alternative; that, indeed, the consideration of Luxemburg would have been powerful enough to induce me to consent that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily should form part of the states reserved for the share of my son; that, when Luxemburg is not comprehended in it, I cannot consider the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily in any other light than as a portion, not only useless, but also very burdensome to my crown, on account of the indispensably necessary expense which I should be obliged to incur to retain possession of them; that, to induce me to accept it, the alternative, composed of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the places on the coast of Tuscany, Final, and Sardinia, might be improved, adding to it the province of Guipuscoa, which contains Fontarabia and St. Sebastian. You will also leave to the king of England, as you propose, the choice of agreeing that I shall have in the share of my son, either that province with the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, or the kingdom of Navarre, with Pampeluna, the fortifications being rased.

But as there is little appearance that he will consent to this alternative, which is a better one than those which you have hitherto mentioned to him, you will propose the two following: viz.,

Milan, Final, the province of Guipuscoa, containing the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian,—and this is the alternative which I prefer,—or else Milan, Final, and the kingdom of Navarre, binding myself to rase Pampeluna.

I do not repeat all the arguments contained in the preceding despatches, to show that I cannot be contented with a smaller share for my son in lieu of his legitimate rights to the whole Spanish succession. I am persuaded that you will know how to use them in due season, and to show by such real proofs with what sincerity I desire the promotion of the general tranquillity. But, if what you should say cannot yet induce the king of England to desist from the last alternative which he has proposed, I permit you, in case of the utmost extremity, to conform yourself entirely to my letter of the 15th, and to accept the draft of the treaty with the conditions which it contains; viz., that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the places on the coast of Tuscany, Final, and Sardinia, shall belong to my son; Milan to the Archduke; and the remainder of the Spanish monarchy, in the state in which it now is, to the electoral prince of Bavaria.

On whichever alternative of those mentioned in that letter you shall treat, you will always observe that Spain, in the state in which it is at present, is to form the share of the electoral prince of Bavaria, with the exception of what shall be separated from it to form the share of my son and that of the Archduke.

I will add, further, that I should prefer Milan to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, but that the places on the coast of Tuscany and Final must not be separated from the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, if these two kingdoms fall to the share of my son; and that, in like manner, Final must be added to Milan if the king of England agrees that I shall have that alternative, that place being absolutely necessary to me for communication with Milan.

If the cession of Sardinia should form the only obstacle to the treaty, this difficulty would not hinder me from concluding; provided, however, that that island remains united to the Spanish monarchy, and never is added to the share of the Archduke. But what I say to you on this subject is only for your private instruction, and as the article of Sardinia is not of sufficient importance to hinder such a treaty, it is not yet proper for you to state my intention on this subject.

The orders which I give you will enable you to conclude if the intentions of the king of England are as sincere as I have reason to believe them; and if his views really are to prevent the death of his Catholic Majesty whenever it occurs, from disturbing the tranquillity of Europe.

In order to ensure success in this object, it is not yet enough for me to agree with that prince about the states which are to form the share and portion of my son, those which will compose the share of the Archduke, and, lastly, the advantages which will be given to the electoral prince of Ba-

varia; in order to preserve peace, means must be concerted to put me in possession of the dominions which my son reserves to himself out of the Spanish succession, and to agree on the measures to be taken with the Emperor.

With regard to the first point, there is every appearance that the duke of Savoy, the republic of Venice, and the other princes of Italy, if they are strong enough to join those two powers, will use all their efforts to hinder me from becoming master of Milan. Even if I should prefer the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, I should still meet with the same obstacles from the Pope and from the Spaniards; who would never bear that, without their consent, a treaty had been formed to separate that kingdom from their monarchy. Then the war, which we wish to avoid, would be renewed in Italy. I should be obliged to send armies to that country, and to make a conquest of the dominions with which I had contented myself, in lieu of all the legitimate rights of my son; while the Archduke and the electoral prince of Bavaria, would be in the peaceable enjoyment of those which fell to their share. I believe that the results of this war would be favourable to me, but they are always uncertain, and I know what embarrassment and expense will be required to carry it on; and the present question is, not to expose ourselves to the doubtful events of war, since the object proposed by the treaty is to prevent it. It is necessary, then, to know what the king of England intends to do on his part to prevent my being engaged in a new war

for the share with which I shall be contented; whether that prince will join his ships to mine, if he can make his troops act for my interests; whether he can answer for the conduct of the duke of Savoy; lastly, whether he is sufficiently sure of the Prince of Vaudemont, and whether the latter is duly authorised to preserve for me Milan, in case it falls to the share of my son.

It is almost certain that, if any state of Italy shall be comprised in it, I shall find all the difficulties which I foresee in making myself master of it. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the king of England should explicitly state what he intends to do to guarantee to me the execution of the treaty. If this were not well secured, it would not be prudent to give up all the favourable dispositions which I see on the part of Spain, to be satisfied with a moderate share which I could not enjoy without going to war.

These difficulties would be removed if the king of England returned to the first alternatives which he himself proposed, and if it were agreed to give Spain and the West Indies as the portion of one of my grandsons. The temper of the people there would afford me more facilities than I find in Italy. You will tell that prince as much, and that the party which I have in Spain is at present considerable enough to have one of my grandsons admitted without exciting war, if I were previously agreed, on all points with the king of England, and if, through his means, the Emperor subscribed to the same treaty.

I informed you, by my letter of the 29th of May, of the advantages which, in this case, I would grant to England and to Holland. I would still agree to the same conditions, viz., to leave to those two nations, Ceuta and Oran for the security of their commerce in the Mediterranean, and to give them, in the West Indies, that part of the island of St. Domingo which belongs to Spain. I likewise confirm all that is contained in that letter on the remainder of that first alternative.

With respect to the measures to be taken with the Emperor, it is absolutely necessary to suspend all kind of overtures concerning him till I have signed the treaty with the king of England. I have already indicated to you, that a communication which should be made to him will do extreme injury to my affairs in Spain; that one of the greatest fears of the nation is to see their monarchy dismembered; and that for the Emperor to make it known that I am treating with this view would be enough to make his Catholic Majesty, and even the Cortes of the kingdom, invite the Archduke, and recognise him as heir to the crown.

You will learn, however, from the king of England, in what manner he thinks of communicating the treaty to the Emperor, when it shall be signed, of making him agree to it, and of being sure that he will not oppose its execution. But you will continue to say that I shall disavow everything respecting this negotiation, which shall be divulged before its entire conclusion.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utrecht, August 10. 1698.

Immediately after having arrived at Arnheim, I wrote to the Earl of Portland, as I had agreed to do. He sent me word to be at Loo this morning at 9 o'clock. I accordingly went thither, and was at once admitted to an audience of the King.

I will not repeat to your Majesty all that was said, because there is no occasion to draw any inferences from it. I shall merely do myself the honour to tell you that I hold it for certain that the king of England agrees that the share of the Dauphin shall consist of Milan, of the province of Guipuscoa, in which the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian are comprehended, of Final and its dependencies in the state in which the Spaniards hold them, and of Piombino, on which I insisted, because it appears to me that it is important to your Majesty to have a second communication, though at some distance, to reach Milan in case there should be any obstacle on the side of Final.

With respect to the other places on the coast of Tuscany, nothing is yet decided. I shall endeavour to get also Porto-Longone; the others appear to me to be rather ornamental than useful to your Majesty. I shall content myself, if it can be accomplished, with hindering them from being delivered up to the Archduke together with Naples and Sicily: I should rather incline to have them razed, and to give up the territory to the prince to whom it belongs.

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Things have remained in this state, because the king of England told me, that being in Holland, he did not wish to go any further without speaking to the Pensionary, to whom he has despatched a courier, desiring him to come with all diligence to Loo. I reckon that he will be here on Tuesday, that I shall be sent for on Wednesday, that everything will be settled on Thursday, and that on Friday I shall deliver the draft of a treaty.

I will merely add, Sire, that before coming to an agreement on the means of executing it, I shall bring forward an infinity of difficulties, most of which will be too well founded, in order to have an opportunity of again proposing Spain for one of the grandsons of your Majesty, under the pretext of the facility which every one would have to enter into the possession of his share.

I shall not neglect anything to carry out the intentions of your Majesty, but I find it very difficult to believe that I shall succeed. I am very glad that I was not mistaken in the shock which I thought I perceived, on occasion of the late event which happened to the king of Spain. These changes here give your Majesty a proof of this, for the king of England very clearly sees the difference between Milan in the hands of the Archduke, supported by the Emperor, by Tyrol, and in league with the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy against the interests of your Majesty in Italy, and much to be feared on our frontiers, if another war should break out; or to see it in the hands of your Majesty, who thus absolutely encloses the dominions of that

latter prince, becomes master of all Lombardy, and confines the Archduke in a slip of country between two seas, without even a single boat to cross to Sicily.

The importance of St. Sebastian is not inconsiderable. This article was discussed at great length; and as the king of England always alleged that it was the place in Spain where the Dutch had the greatest trade, and as I represented in vain that they would be no less at liberty to continue it when the place should belong to France, that the trade which they had with Rouen, Nantes, and Bordeaux was still more considerable, and that they had no difficulty in carrying it on, I at length engaged under your Majesty's good pleasure to obtain from you that the Dutch shall be treated in the port of St. Sebastian on the same footing as they are at present treated by the Spaniards, in respect to the duties which they pay.

I had also asked for the kingdom of Navarre, with Pampeluna dismantled, but the King very well remembered that in that case St. Sebastian and Fontarabia were not included in the alternative. Accordingly, Sire, I reverted at once to the two latter places, conformably to the orders of your Majesty. I have repeated all the proposals which have been made to me respecting Naples and Sicily, though I was very well persuaded that this alternative would be urged to the point which I had the honour to state to your Majesty, so much has the king of England at heart to see Milan allotted to the Archduke; but, as this was departing from the

course which you had prescribed to me, in doing me the honour to let me know that you preferred what I considered as accepted to every other proposal, I did not venture to let them perceive the slightest return to those two kingdoms. I did not enter upon the subject of the steps which the king of England and the Dutch will take; I merely contented myself with a renewed promise from the King that no communication shall be made to the Emperor before the treaty is signed. I added, that your Majesty believed that after that it would be proper that he should take it upon him to make him subscribe. To this he answered, laughing, that your Majesty gave him a pretty commission, and assured me that the king of Spain had made a will, which reiterated and confirmed that of the late king his father.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, August 10. 1698.

Count Tallard has been here this morning, and has made me further proposals, of which the Earl of Portland will inform you; and as I think they come near to the point, it will be necessary that I should confer with you thereon as soon as possible. I therefore desire you will set out from the Hague to-morrow evening, in order to be here early on Tuesday evening; and it will be necessary to bring M. van Dyckwelt with you.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Loo, August 15. 1698.

The Pensionary Heinsius has arrived here, and I was sent for yesterday. I soon perceived from the language of Lord Portland that they had changed their resolution, and no longer proposed to let Milan form a part of the share of the Dauphin. I believed, till the very last, that it was with a view of sounding me; but the King having sent for me, told me, that after having conferred with the Pensionary, on the last proposal which I had made, he found that if Milan were in the hands of your Majesty, it would render you absolute master of all Italy; that the Archduke would be quite out of his place in Naples and Sicily; that he had not a ship, nor even a galley, and that this was not a position for him; that to prove to your Majesty the sincerity of his intention, and his desire to conclude a treaty which should ensure the peace of Europe, he consented to add the province of Guipuscoa, comprising the towns of St. Sebastian and Fontarabia, to Naples, Sicily, and the places on the coast of Tuscany, which had been already offered.

You may believe, Sire, that I replied to this with more energy than I could have ventured to hope, considering my poor abilities. I will not trouble your Majesty with the details, for it is useless, and would only annoy you. I repeated, that I was ready to sign the last proposal which I had made, but that I had no orders to accept that which was now made to me. The King

answered, that I should do myself the honour to report to your Majesty, in order to ascertain your final intentions. When I saw that I did not effect anything by my firmness, which I maintained to the last moment, in the hope of inducing them to cede Milan, since it is certain that they had made up their minds for two days, I thought of completing the share which is to come to the Dauphin, and said to the King, that since he desired that I should have the honour of making this proposal from him to your Majesty, I requested him to add what might induce us to accept it, in order that there might be no more occasion to revert to it; and I demanded Final, which he granted, after some discussion.

Though I expressed myself very uncertain respecting the resolution which your Majesty might take on this point, yet, in order to gain time, I offered to draw up the draft of a treaty, in which I would insert what he had just proposed to me, and in which it would only be necessary to add or change those points which would be agreed to in the sequel.

I asked the King if he would not undertake to communicate the treaty, when it should be signed, to the Emperor, and obtain his assent to it. He answered, that he undertook to communicate it to him, but not to make him sign it, but that it would be proper to make an offensive and defensive alliance with your Majesty and Holland to ensure the execution of the articles agreed upon against those who should not accept it; that he even thought

that an article should be left in the treaty to the effect that those who should desire to enter the league should be received; that several princes of Germany would be of the number; and that it would also be proper that the crowns of the North should join.

I endeavoured to enlarge on the difficulties which your Majesty would have in taking possession of the states of Italy, which should be assigned as the share of the Dauphin, and that your Majesty would be obliged to conquer them. He would by no means allow that there could be the smallest difficulty in the execution of a matter which should be authorised by so powerful a league. On this occasion I attempted to revert to the subject of Spain, but he instantly stopped my mouth. At length we agreed that if, contrary to all appearance, there should be some prince who might attempt to make a movement in opposition to the share which should be allotted, he should be considered as a disturber of the peace, and deprived of the guarantee in which he might have been included in the treaty of Ryswick. It is on account of the duke of Savoy that this article has been made.

After this I had another interview with Lord Portland. I constantly expressed my doubts whether your Majesty would accept these proposals, and that, to render them more palatable, I would add the island of Sardinia. He told me not to do so without communicating with the king, his master. I said that it was not worth while to speak to him

about it, but that he might take the trouble of asking him whether I could do so.

I have forgotten to tell your Majesty that, on leaving the cabinet of the King, I recapitulated to him the division of the succession in the following terms: the share of the Dauphin will consist of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, of all the places which the Spaniards hold on the coast of Tuscany, of Final and its dependencies, of the provinces of Guipuscoa, including the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian; the Archduke will have Milan; the electoral prince of Bavaria will possess the remainder of the whole Spanish monarchy in the state in which it is at present. The king of England said that this was conformable to his sentiments.

Two reasons, Sire, have prevented my concluding to-day. The first, because I have too strongly affirmed that I had no power to accept this proposal, in order to see the end of their sentiments respecting Milan; and for decorum's sake it must appear that I have applied for fresh orders: the second, that your Majesty, who will see by the account which I have the honour to give you the doubt which they had about ceding Milan, may judge for yourself, if you will refuse what they offer, or run the risk of entirely breaking off, in order to bring them to accede to your wishes, or to accept the condition which it seems to me by the last despatches you yourself think more advantageous than the first alternatives which you had already proposed.

The king of England has desired that, in order not to lose time, the examination of the draft of a treaty which may meet with some opposition shall be deferred till after the departure of this courier, in the supposition that a mere letter would be more readily penned than the draft of a treaty.

August 16.

Since writing the above, I have waited on the king of England, to take leave of him. We again entered on the question of Milan, on which he spoke so decidedly, that I believe we must accept the offer which he makes at present; and that, from not having done so already, has arisen all the loss of time and all possible chicanery.

Thus, as soon as I have suffered five or six days to elapse, which are necessary for the return of the courier, who, the King believes, was sent off yesterday, I shall accept in your Majesty's name what is contained above in this letter, which I could not do with propriety, as I have already had the honour to mention to you; because I have always said, in order to sound their intentions, that I had no orders except for the proposal which I made, for they require to see my full powers, and those of the Dauphin, and that the articles should be drawn up the moment that I return him an answer. The king of England means to go to Zell, and desires to know, before he sets out, what he has to expect.

They say that there can be only two difficulties on each side in the treaty. On their part they turn

on the manner in which the Dauphin shall renounce, and make all those who will take a part in this treaty guarantees of the renunciation. On our part, they believe that we can make none, except to secure the execution of the partition, and, the guarantee of the possession, against any parties who should attempt to interfere with us. They say that if we are sincere, we ought not to make any difficulty in all the terms which it shall be thought necessary to insert to render the negotiation solid, and that the guarantee is only a consequence of the securities which it is desirable to have, and that they consent to bind themselves, as much as we shall desire, to render the execution of the treaty infallible; and that all those who shall be guarantees of the renunciation will be so of the execution and of the possession of the Dauphin's share.

Do me the honour to acquaint me if there are any limits at which we must stop on the subject of the renunciation, if the guarantee of the renunciation affects your interest; you cannot manifest any irritability on this point without giving them umbrage. Have the goodness to send me a draft of what you desire to have inserted, for the security of the execution of the treaty, and I will take care that it shall be done.

But in my opinion your Majesty must not defer sending me your full powers, and those of the Dauphin, for the time is come to conclude definitively; and if you do not do me the honour to enable me speedily to sign the treaty, they will

become distrustful, believing that we desire to protract, in order to strengthen the cabal on the part of Spain, for they are suspicious.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, August 18. 1698.

Your letter of the 10th of this month informs me of the state of the negotiation, and I learn with pleasure the inclination which you find there is to conclude the treaty on the footing of that alternative, which I prefer to the others. You have even rendered it more advantageous, by having Piombino added to it; but, as that place, which is of little importance in itself, would be of slight use without Porto-Longone being added to it, I have reason to believe that you will succeed in having that also included in the alternative. This demand, however, must not be an obstacle to the conclusion of the treaty, and if the cession of these places should be attended with too many difficulties, I approve the expedient which you propose, with respect to the others, situate on the coast of Tuscany, viz. to have them all razed, and to give up the territory to the princes to whom it belongs. Lastly, if you cannot obtain this condition, it would be more advantageous that those places should be subject to the Spanish monarchy, than to have them united to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily in the possession of the Archduke.

According to your letter, I have reason to

believe that the treaty will be concluded before this letter reaches you; but as some difficulties which you have not foreseen, may possibly have arisen, to delay the signature, I will tell you that after having examined all the alternatives, that which comprehends Milan appears to me preferable even to the cession of the kingdom of Spain to one of my grandsons on the conditions which I have pointed out to you. It is more advantageous to my crown to acquire Milan, Final, Fontarabia, St. Sebastian, the province of Guipuscoa, and the places on the coast of Tuscany, if it is possible, than to place one of my grandsons on the throne of Spain, abandoning all Italy to the Emperor, and granting places to the English and the Dutch in the West Indies and the Mediterranean. The interest of all Europe agrees on this occasion with that which I consider as the most conformable to mine. The main point will be, to be assured of the means of executing the treaty without recommencing the war, and I am persuaded that it will not be difficult to find these, if the king of England enters into the matter with the same good faith which he has hitherto testified.

There is no more time to be lost in taking measures, in case of the death of the king of Spain, and I learn by the latest letters from Madrid, of the 30th of July, that no hopes are entertained that that prince can get through the autumn. The king of England has certainly the same news. It must make him the more urgent to hasten a conclusion, as he has not yet taken any measures with the Emperor or with the elector of Bavaria;

since they have no troops at hand to enter Spain; whereas mine are upon the frontiers, and my ships are either in the ports, or on the coasts of that kingdom.

You may promise, that when I shall be master of St. Sebastian, the Dutch shall be treated in the same manner as they are at present by the Spaniards.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, August 19. 1698.

Your letter of the 15th of this month has shown me that the state of affairs had changed after the account which you had given me, and that the counsels of the Pensionary Heinsius had made the king of England resolve to treat on the footing of an alternative, differing from that which he seemed to accept before the arrival of the Pensionary.

You know the difference between them, and you know also the opinion which I entertain of them. The latter gives me indeed a greater extent of territory, but the acquisition of Milan was a much more solid advantage. I see on the one hand the embarrassment, the trouble, and the expense which the preservation of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily will entail, while the Emperor may easily become master of all Italy; his hereditary estates would become almost contiguous, and it will be difficult to hinder him with such a power from asserting the pretended rights of the Imperial

Crown in Italy. We cannot even answer for his not shortly reviving the pretensions of the House of Austria, to the prejudice of the liberty of the Swiss Cantons.

The king of England and the States General without doubt propose as their principal object, either the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe, or their own interest. If the first consideration is that which guides them, nothing is more contrary to this view than to give the Emperor an accession of power in the heart of Italy. His designs have become too manifest for some years past for us to suppose that he would leave at peace the princes and the weak states, which should have the misfortune to become his neighbours.

If they regard only the private interest of England and the United Provinces, and if they argue according to their own principles, nothing would be more advantageous to their commerce in the Mediterranean than to see the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily governed by a prince whose naval power they would have no occasion to fear.

It is chiefly this reason that the king of England has always alleged for declining the proposals which you have made him, to agree to give the kingdom of Spain to one of my grandsons. The same reasons should therefore make him apprehensive of seeing me in possession of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, rather than of Milan. When I shall be master of these kingdoms, the English and the Dutch will depend entirely on my word for the liberty of their commerce in the Mediter-

ranean, and if I designed to interrupt it from the ports of those two states, the fleet which might be kept there would make it very easy for me to do so. On the contrary, if Milan fell to the share of my son, this state would not give me any new facility to disturb their navigation, even if (which is not to be supposed) I should be capable of violating the engagements into which I had entered.

I had therefore reason to believe that the king of England would abide by the resolution to treat on the footing of the alternative of which you gave me an account in your letter of the 10th. The choice which I had made of Milan was a proof of my sincere desire strictly to maintain the general tranquillity, and not to give the English and the Dutch the slightest cause for jealousy respecting the safety of their commerce.

But though this state suits me much better than the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, for all the reasons which I have stated to you, I prefer treating on the footing of the last alternative which the king of England has proposed to you, to breaking off the negotiation: you will, however, once more attempt to treat on the alternative of Milan; but, as I have no reason to believe that you will induce the king of England to accede to it, you will, if possible, get the island of Sardinia added to the alternative of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. I even authorise you, if it must be so, to abandon it, provided it be not added to the kingdom of Spain.

For this purpose I send you full powers signed

by myself, and others by my son, and as it is my intention to treat with good faith, I shall make no difficulty about the terms necessary to secure the tranquillity of Europe in time to come. But it would not be just that while my son renounces with this view his legitimate rights, the Emperor should one day profit by this renunciation, and renew in the sequel the same pretensions which he now puts forth to the Spanish succession. It is therefore my intention that it shall be inserted in the treaty that my son renounces for himself, his heirs, and his successors, born, or who shall hereafter be born, all his rights to the Crown of Spain, in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria, and that he likewise engages for himself, his heirs and successors, never to disturb that prince and his descendants in the possession of the states which shall fall to his share.

Though this renunciation must suffice to ensure the preservation of peace, in case of the death of the king of Spain, the king of England will perhaps say that a more ample renunciation is required, that the electoral prince of Bavaria may die, without issue, and that in that case the same inconvenience would recur which it is now sought to avoid. You will answer that I am equally disposed to agree on the means of preventing this; that it is also necessary to find means to prevent the Emperor from obtaining the Spanish succession, if this latter case should arise; that a general renunciation made at present by my son would certainly establish the right of the sons of the Emperor in case of the

death of the electoral prince of Bavaria without children; that they would indisputably be the legitimate heirs; that it would not be just that after my son had abandoned his rights for the good of Europe, this moderation should serve for the aggrandisement of the Emperor, which it is desired, and with so much reason, to prevent; that it is for that purpose that my son renounces his rights only in favour of the prince of Bavaria; that if the king of England thinks it necessary to enter into some more special engagements, you have power to agree that, in case of the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria without children, a new treaty shall be made to determine to whom the succession shall belong, to the exclusion however of the children of the Emperor, and that my son will also renounce his rights in favour of the person who shall be agreed upon as successor of the Electoral Prince. If the king of England finds this engagement too general, you will propose to him to agree immediately that the order laid down in the will of Philip IV. shall be followed, and, that in the event of the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria without issue, the duke of Savoy shall be called to the crown of Spain.

Lastly, if there is some aversion in his mind to the duke of Savoy, or if some other reason hinders him from admitting him, you may propose that the elector of Bavaria shall inherit the crown of his son, and after that Elector, his descendants. If in the sequel it is necessary that you should

have, for this purpose, new powers from my son, they shall be sent to you immediately.

But you will make these several proposals only one after the other, in the order which I point out, and only in case the king of England finds that the renunciation which you will stipulate for my son is restricted within too narrow limits.

It will also be necessary that, in the event of the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, the king of England shall bind himself to make the Emperor enter into the same engagements as I shall enter into on this subject. Lastly, the good of Europe requires that the Emperor and his children shall never obtain the Spanish succession when I am ready to be contented with the partition to which you will agree in the treaty.

As for the guarantee of England and Holland, it is not only not contrary to my interests, but you must necessarily stipulate for it, as well for the renunciation as for the execution of the treaty.

With regard to this last article, we must agree, as the king of England suggests, on an offensive and defensive league, between me, that prince, and the States General, for the execution of the conditions of the treaty, and that England and the United Provinces shall join their forces, by sea and land, to mine, to put me in possession of the share agreed upon.

Lastly, all Europe being interested in these arrangements, it is very proper to get as many of the princes of the Empire as possible to join it, and to admit also the Crowns of the North.

I am persuaded that it will not be a difficult matter if the king of England gives his attention to it; if this league is made, and the king of England and Holland join their forces to mine, there is no possibility that the Emperor will refuse to subscribe to it; and if he should do so, the opposition that he would make to the execution of the treaty would be inconsiderable.

Though there is no reason to doubt the consent of the elector of Bavaria, yet you will agree with the king of England on the measures that he will take to communicate the treaty to that prince, and to examine what he can contribute to its execution.

Lastly, I see no obstacle to concluding, at present, if the king of England has hitherto spoken to you with the good faith which I have reason to believe is the case.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Loo, August, 24. 1698.

Sir,

While I was in England I often heard that Count Tallard should say an accommodation might be found out in relation to the succession of Spain, in case of that king's death. It is true I heard the same thing talked of while I was in France, and as it is certain that without such an accommodation the accident of this death would infal-

libly draw us into a cruel war, out of which with great difficulty we are but just gotten, his Majesty has sounded France upon what terms an agreement might be made, to which they do not seem averse; and as his Majesty would not enter too deeply into this matter without knowing something of their opinions in England, he has commanded me to impart it to you, and you may speak to my Lord Chancellor about it, to whom the King himself writes by this post, that he would likewise talk about it with those he thinks he may trust with the secret, which it is of the highest importance to keep with the utmost care.

The conditions are pretty near of this nature: that the electoral prince of Bavaria shall have the kingdoms of Spain, the Indies, the Low Countries, and all that depends upon the Spanish dominions, except the kingdoms of Naples, and of Sicily, Sardinia, the province of Guipuscoa on this side the Pyrenees, Fontarabia, and St. Sebastian, Final, and the places of Tuscany, of which Spain stands now possessed; in consideration of which France is absolutely to renounce the right she pretends to the succession of Spain. Milan is to be given to the Archduke, second son to the Emperor. I herewith join the letter to my Lord Chancellor.

I hope quickly to receive your answer to this.

WILLIAM III. TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR SOMERS.

August 25. 1698.

I imparted to you, before I left England, that in France there was expressed to my Lord Portland some inclination to come to an agreement with us concerning the succession of the king of Spain; since which Count Tallard has mentioned it to me, and has made such propositions, the particulars of which my Lord Portland will write to Vernon, to whom I have given orders not to communicate them to any other besides yourself, and to leave to your judgment to whom else you would think proper to impart them; to the end that I might know your opinion upon so important an affair, and which requires the greatest secrecy. If it be fit this negociation should be carried on, there is no time to be lost, and you will send me the full powers under the great seal, with the names in blank, to treat with Count Tallard. I believe this may be done secretly, that none but you and Vernon, and those to whom you shall have communicated it, may have knowledge of it, so that the clerks who are to write the warrant, and the full powers, may not know what it is. According to all intelligence, the king of Spain cannot outlive the month of October, and the least accident may carry him off every day.

I received, yesterday, your letter of the 9th. Since my Lord Wharton cannot at this time leave England, I must think of some other to send am-

bassador to Spain. If you can think of any one proper, let me know it, and be always assured of my friendship.*

In so delicate a conjuncture, King William desired naturally enough to send into Spain an extraordinary ambassador, of more personal weight than Mr. Alexander Stanhope, and he fixed his choice, not on the Earl of Portland, as Louis XIV. had been brought to conjecture on a false rumour, but on the Duke of Shrewsbury. Being unable to persuade that nobleman to retain the seals of Secretary of State, and accept in lieu the office of Lord Chamberlain, vacant since the resignation of the Earl of Sunderland, and wishing nevertheless to retain his services, the King endeavoured to induce the Duke of Shrewsbury to accept this high trust. Lord Somers concurred willingly in this view, and wrote in the following terms to the duke of Shrewsbury: —(July 26. O. S.)—"Some time after Mr. Secretary (Vernon) had mentioned the business of Spain to your Grace, the King took occasion to speak of the great consequence it would be to England, that a man of quality and ability, one, that was known abroad to have credit with him, and had a fixed credit at home, should be sent to Spain. I had no suspicion of what he meant, and readily gave in to the notion. He then told me, he had ordered it to be proposed to your Grace, not only as having all the qualifications, but as a thing, which would contribute, in your own opinion, to your health, and would be a very easy employment. He added that the two last considerations had encouraged him to propose it to you, and that he expected your answer the next morning." Probably King William had great doubts whether the Duke of Shrewsbury would yield to these entreaties, for, as Lord Somers wrote in the same letter—"the same proposition is to be made to my Lord Wharton, and I am to propose it." The aim of this was too obviously a pretext for removing from the political scene Lord Wharton, whom the King thought the chief obstacle to the return of the Earl of Sunderland, and whose pretensions to the seals of Secretary of State he had no inclination to gratify. As was apprehended by

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utrecht, August 25. 1698.

I have just returned from Loo, where I have passed two nights. I alighted at the Earl of Portland's as usual, who gave me the same apartments as heretofore. I found him very cold, and reproached him for it in a jocular tone, telling him that the austerity of his countenance did not in the least alarm me. The fact is, Sire, that the force and the firmness with which I spoke to the king of England in the last conversation on the subject of Milan, have made them change their conduct a little towards me. However, he made some excuse, and I began to converse with him as usual. I told him the orders which I had from your Majesty after he had been with the King to ascertain when I might have the honour of seeing him. When he came down, he told me to go to his Majesty. I went accordingly, and though I met with the usual civility, there seemed to me to be a change in his manner of treating me.

After a preamble, conformably to what you did me the honour to order, I accepted the proposals which he had made the last time, adding the island of Sardinia to them. He exclaimed against this, saying it was a kingdom. I saw clearly that he believed I had discovered his wish to make a treaty, and that he wished to disconcert me. Accordingly,

his friends, Lord Wharton declined peremptorily to go to Spain, and directed the Chancellor "to make his excuse," as his lady was "not far from an expectation of lying in."

I was not alarmed, and quietly proceeded, saying that your Majesty had anticipated the memorial which the Earl of Portland had given me on the subject of the form which he wished for the renunciation of the Dauphin to the kingdom of Spain, and I began by displaying the sincerity with which your Majesty acted in consenting that all the terms should be used which tended only to explain a matter which you wished to do; and, as your Majesty knows, that they had already demanded a second renunciation in case the electoral prince of Bavaria should die without issue, I added, that your Majesty even consented that the crown of Spain should not fall to the Dauphin in this last case, provided, however, that his moderation did not occasion it to fall to the House of Austria, a circumstance which would be as opposed to the interests of Europe in general, as to the interest of your Majesty in particular.

The king of England answered, that the sincerity of your Majesty's intentions appeared very clearly, but that he did not see how, if the Dauphin renounced, and the electoral prince of Bavaria died, it would be possible to hinder the Spanish succession from falling to the Emperor. I told him that the Dauphin would never make this ulterior renunciation (for so they call it) unless the same powers which guarantee the treaty in question take incontestable measures to hinder that case from occurring; that it appeared to me that it was expedient to agree by a treaty to choose a prince in accordance with the interests of Europe, not belonging to the House of France, nor to the House of

Austria, and to place him on the throne of Spain if it should become vacant a second time.

This appeared to him too uncertain, and I told him that there was another means, which was to conform to the will of Philip IV., to the exclusion of the Emperor, that is to say, to pass directly to the duke of Savoy. He replied, with reason, by what right could we take half of the will, and invalidate that which did not suit us; and it is true, Sire, that whenever it is desired to recognize the article in particular, it must be agreed that the Emperor is the first named in it, and that it appears a violent course to give the precedence to the duke of Savoy, because it is the interest of the strongest to prevent the succession from falling to the House of Austria.

As I was struck with these reasons before speaking to the King, I confess that I passed slightly over the duke of Savoy, towards whom he has always felt a repugnance, and I contented myself with saying, that nothing more was necessary than that all should agree to the truth, which is, that the Dauphin had the legitimate right; that if he transferred it to the elector of Bavaria, the crown of Spain would, by right, belong to him, in case his son should die, and that his just pretensions, being then supported by the league which is to be formed, there would be no more difficulty in any respect. The king of England replied, that this required some reflection, and that he would give me an answer.

On the following day, I saw the Earl of Portland, who said with a cheerful countenance that

he wished to speak to me. I went into his room, where we remained full three hours. He observed that he was delighted at seeing that there was no more doubt of concluding a treaty; that as your Majesty was actuated by such good faith as you appeared to be, respecting the renunciation of the Dauphin, it was their interest as well as ours, to hinder the aggrandisement of the Emperor; but that it was necessary to find some expedient to satisfy the delicacy of the king, his master, who doubted whether the rights of inheritance to a crown could be transferred; that an idea had occurred to him, on which he was glad to speak to me; viz., to make this cession, by a special treaty, between the Dauphin and the elector of Bavaria, without stating it in the general treaty.

I replied that, with respect to your Majesty, you had no scruple, that you believed the right of the Dauphin to be incontestable, that the crown of Spain would therefore belong to him on the death of his Catholic Majesty, and that, being his, he might dispose of it as of his property; that besides, far from your Majesty's having any repugnance to the elector of Bavaria, you had much esteem for him, consequently that this expedient appeared to me good, on one condition, viz. that the general guarantee of the whole league should be comprehended in the same act as the ulterior renunciation and the cession in favour of the elector of Bavaria.

We then proceeded to a discussion of the articles which are to form the treaty: not to lose time, I produced the draft which I had in my pocket; he

begged me to leave it with him, which I did. Two hours afterwards he read it to the King, and the result of the whole is that the Earl of Portland will go to the Hague to-morrow, to communicate it to the Pensionary Heinsius; that on Thursday or at the latest on Friday he will come to dine here, and will bring me back the draft signed; that meantime directions have been sent to England to expedite the powers of the person who is to sign it with me, because it is necessary that it should be sealed; that even if the wind should be favourable he cannot arrive in less than ten or twelve days; that the King, to make all things sure, agrees to sign the conventions on his return from the Hague; but he persists in contesting the island of Sardinia in favour of the Electoral Prince, and I do not know what will be the result. Your Majesty seems to care so little about it in your last despatches, that I shall not risk the rupture of the negotiation on that account.

It does not appear to me that they have found anything important to change in the draft of the treaty which I have given, but no certain opinion can be formed on this point till it has been examined by the Pensionary Heinsius. It has been resolved to add another clause to it, which will not be disagreeable to your Majesty; viz., that it shall be stated that if the Emperor refuses to subscribe, he shall be hindered from taking possession of Milan, which in this case shall be laid under sequestration. The question is, in whose hands — those of the Venetians or the Swiss? for they will

not hear of the duke of Savoy. The king of England desires to know the opinion of your Majesty on this subject. He is inclined to the Venetians, because he believes that as the Emperor is nearer to the Swiss, they might more readily defer to his wishes, and if I may be allowed to have an opinion, I agree with him.

Thus, Sire, with the exception of Sardinia, which must be contested, it seems to me that we may be able to conclude immediately after the return of Lord Portland, unless some difficulty should arise, which I do not foresee.

The king of England reckons that the elector of Bavaria will go and manage matters in Spain, and I see clearly that he will contrive to get the government of the Low Countries for the Prince de Vaudemont. It is incredible, Sire, and the king of England himself is astonished at it, that he has not heard a single word of alarm respecting what is passing from any prince, or from any foreign minister, so that there is at present no person who has the slightest suspicion of that which will one day come to light, to the great astonishment of the whole world.

The King sent for me again yesterday evening, and having recapitulated every thing, he added, that your Majesty could no longer doubt that he depended entirely on your alliance, that at least he could no longer rely on that of the House of Austria. He expressed a desire that Milan should be placed under the name of the Emperor, because the share of the Dauphin was united to the crown

of France. I answered that your Majesty would have much difficulty in consenting to this, and that the Archduke being nominated by the will of Philip IV., it was just that what was given him to indemnify him for his claims, should remain in his hands.

MR. SECRETARY VERNON TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

My Lord, Whitehall, August 19—29. 1698.

I have the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 24th instant by the messenger who arrived this afternoon. My Lord Chancellor being gone this morning to Tunbridge, I have sent his Majesty's letter thither, and have likewise inclosed to you that of your Lordship, not knowing but it might be of use to explain some particulars of what is proposed to be considered. It happens inconveniently enough that his Lordship should be out of town just at this time, and some of those whom I believe he would choose to advise with upon so important an occasion are going about the beginning of next month to Quarendon race, near Winchendon*, where the Duke of Shrewsbury is to meet them. There go from hence Lord Marlborough, Lord Orford, Lord Godolphin and Mr. Montague. They go early

* Quarendon, co. Buckingham, in the neighbourhood of Aylesbury. — Upper Winchendon, co. Buckingham, the seat of Lord Wharton.

on Tuesday to dine at St. Albans, and from thence to lie at Winchendon. If my Lord Chancellor should upon this occasion think of making the Duke a visit, and be of the party, he would meet with all that he judged necessary to consult in this matter. I have given his Lordship a hint of it, and expect to hear to-morrow what he resolves. The messenger shall stay here till his Lordship would have him despatched.

I hope it will be very, very acceptable that there is a prospect of avoiding a war when we are in so ill a condition at present for entering into it again.* I think it is pretty plain that a parliament would look upon their concerns as satisfied, if a way were found out to keep Spain and the Indies from falling under France, and if conditions are * * * †. Perhaps it may be in his Majesty's power to

* "Here is no news but that we daily expect to hear the king of Spain is dead. What will become of us then, God knows! I do not see the King has made any provision for such an accident, though often pressed to it, the neglect of which, in my poor opinion, will prove very fatal to England; and those people in business blamed, who could not help it."—*The Earl of Orford to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* August 16. O. S.

A few days before Mr. Montague wrote to the same (August 11. O. S.):

"The elections have made a humour appear in the counties, that is not very comfortable to us, that are in business, for if the taxes have been so heavy in a war against France and popery, they will be very uneasy, when the danger is thought farther off, with the expense that is necessary for an ordinary security; and if the king of Spain dies, who, I think, nobody hopes can live, Lord have mercy upon us!"

† Illegible.

better them, so that neither Spain nor Milan shall be left with such bridles upon them.

LORD CHANCELLOR SOMERS TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Sir, August 20—30. 1698.

I esteem it a very unlucky accident that I should be just got out of the way when a matter of so great a consequence is to fall under consideration. The King's letter does merely refer to that of my Lord Portland to you, as to the terms, which makes me not send it to you by the messenger. That which he principally commands is, that this thing be kept with the utmost secrecy and certainly with great reason, for I am persuaded that nothing can be more ruinous than that such a negotiation should be in the least entertained, unless it were very probable to succeed.

In my opinion there is no hesitation as to your immediately communicating this affair to my Lord Orford and Mr. Montague, who I hope are in town. I am also extremely desirous you would write to the Duke of Shrewsbury upon this subject. I desire it may be left to yourself and the persons named, to whom else and in what manner this thing should be communicated, which, as it is of the highest importance, the King requires should be made an absolute secret.

The King says if this negotiation is to proceed there is no time to be lost, and that a commission

is to be immediately despatched under the great seal, with a blank for the name of the commissioners, which he would have done so secretly as to pass no other hands but yours and mine, that is, both the warrant and the commission to be written by you.

It is to be considered, if these proposals be rejected, what will follow on the king of Spain's death, and in what condition we can pretend to be for such an accident. If they be accepted, what will be the consequence for us and the rest of Europe, and what is expected from us towards making good these terms. If this negotiation be entered upon and the French be not sincere, how far it may turn to our disadvantage. These are thoughts which occur to a head full with waters and aching exceedingly. It is my first day, and I had no sooner got them down but I had your letters.

I desire you will let me know whether I am to come to town, and in what manner I am to know the persons to whom this affair is to be communicated, being ready to do in every thing as they and you would have me. It would be a very happy thing if we could order it so as that this secret did not slip out.

MR. SECRETARY VERNON TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

August 20—30. 1698.

I write this only to acquaint your Grace that Mr. Montague intends to be at Winchendon early

on Monday, where he will communicate to you two letters, one from the Earl of Portland, the other from my Lord Chancellor, containing matters of very great consequence relating to Spain, which the King would have considered here. My Lord Chancellor thinks it very necessary to have your Grace's advice. There are none acquainted with it but my Lord Orford and Mr. Montague, by my Lord Chancellor's directions; and I do not know whether it will be judged requisite to be imparted to any other except your Grace, and therefore I forbear any farther mentioning, not knowing through what hands the letter may pass.

MR. SECRETARY VERNON TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{August 21.}}{\text{September 1.}}$ 1698.

I acquainted you by Friday's post that I had received your Lordship's letter of the 24th instant O. S., and had sent it to Tunbridge, from whence I had my Lord Chancellor's answer the next day, which is here enclosed, and according to his directions I communicated both letters to my Lord Orford and Mr. Montague. They are very sensible of what consequence it is to keep this a secret, and therefore do not think of imparting it to any more than the Duke of Shrewsbury, whom Mr. Montague hopes to find to-morrow at Winchendon. My Lord Orford will not be there till

Tuesday. They intend to be in town again on Friday next, and will go the day following to Tunbridge, and take me with them, which I have given my Lord Chancellor notice of. I suppose they will then write to the King their thoughts upon this subject. In the mean time I may venture to acquaint your Lordship that they do not think we are in a condition at present for a new war, or that we are able to carry it on as the last war. They see what the French aims are of extending themselves everywhere upon the coast, and increasing their power at sea, and to become masters of the Mediterranean and Levant trade; but upon the whole they believe the advantage of England will rather lie on the side of making a good end by composition, if it can be effected.

Finding by my Lord Chancellor's letters that his Majesty expected a commission should be despatched, I have prepared it, so that it may be ready for use, and it will be as easily laid aside if there be no occasion for it. I was unwilling to lose this opportunity of Mr. Jackson's going over with Captain Saunderson, to submit it to his Majesty's pleasure whether he will sign it now, or not; but I believe it is absolutely necessary the warrant for affixing the seal should be signed and despatched, or otherwise my Lord Chancellor will not think himself authorised to do it; and this cannot be supplied by the Lords Justices, as was done with the ratification of the treaty of peace. I thought no time was to be lost, especially since his Majesty might be going to Zell, and therefore

I ventured to perform my part altogether, and I hope I have not done amiss. Your Lordship will please to know of his Majesty whether he would have the commissioners' names now inserted, which perhaps may be necessary when the commission is to pass the seal; and if it be so ordered, they will not be known but to my Lord Chancellor and myself.

I need not mention that the commission is to be signed at the bottom.

COUNT TALLARD TO THE MARQUIS DE TORCY.

Utrecht, September 1. 1698.

I had the honour to write to the King on the 25th of last month, to give him an account of what had passed on my last journey to Loo. I informed him that Lord Portland was to go to the Hague, to confer with the Pensionary Heinsius on the draft of a treaty which I had delivered to him and that he was to dine here on Thursday or Friday, to inform me of the difficulties which they might have found in it. All this has been done accordingly. Lord Portland returned here on Friday. The objections of the Pensionary Heinsius did not appear to me to be wholly unreasonable. I gave Lord Portland the observations which I had made upon them; he took them to the king of England, and I have just received a letter from him, in which he informs me that that prince approves of what I have pointed out. To-morrow he goes

hunting, and immediately afterwards he will give me notice of the day that it will be convenient for me to go to Loo, to finish every thing. I believe that the King will be contented with the manner in which his interest has been attended to in this treaty, with the exception of the island of Sardinia, which we shall not have, because the Dutch cry out for mercy at our having all the ports in the Mediterranean, and that at least this one ought to remain to the king of Spain, in order that, if ever war should be renewed, their ships which should leave the coasts of Spain and Minorca to go to the Levant, may have a port between the two, to take refuge in, if they met with a storm.

If the king of England has not caused the full powers to be made out sooner, it was because he would not make the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of England acquainted with what was passing.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Compiegne, September 2. 1698.

I have received your letter of the 25th of last month. The account which you sent me of the state of your negotiation, gives me reason to believe that it will be completed before you receive my answer, and besides, there is little that I can add to the orders which I have already given you. One of the principal conditions to be stipulated is, that the renunciation of the Emperor and that

of the Archduke shall be conformable to that which my son is to make, and I see by one of your letters that you had already stated the necessity of this point to Lord Portland. It is not only as father of the Archduke that the Emperor must renounce, but as having pretensions of his own, and being nominated before his children by Philip IV. to the Spanish succession, in default of children of the Infanta Margaret.

When I prepared to conform to their will and to raise the duke of Savoy to the throne of Spain, if the Electoral Prince should die without children, it was not my intention to confirm a document which I cannot recognise as good, but only to follow the views which Philip IV. entertained, without authorising the arrangements which he had made; and, as it is my son who transfers the right which he possesses, he is free to cede them to the duke of Savoy, as well as to the elector of Bavaria. In truth, if the repugnance of the king of England for the duke of Savoy did not appear very clearly, we could not see what is the foundation of the scrupulous apprehension which he manifests to do for that prince, what he does without hesitation for the elector of Bavaria.

As the latter would perhaps be more agreeable to me than the duke of Savoy on the throne of Spain, I am ready to consent to the special treaty of which Lord Portland spoke to you, to secure the crown of Spain to the elector of Bavaria in case the Electoral prince, his son, should die without children; but, at the same time, it is

necessary, not only that the same league should be the guarantee of the special treaty as well as of the general treaty, but also that it should be stated in the renunciation of the Emperor, and in that of the princes, his children, that this same renunciation shall subsist if the Electoral Prince should die without children.

This is the only means to prevent the same events which we wish to provide against, from one day rekindling war in all Europe. Lastly, it would not be just, that my son should be bound to renounce his rights after the death of him in whose favour he is willing to cede them, while the Emperor reserved full liberty to maintain his pretensions.

I am persuaded that the king of England will easily comprehend the justice of what you will say to him on this article. I see that he knows of what importance it is for the good of Europe to hinder the aggrandisement of the Emperor, and I cannot require a stronger proof of this than the proposal which he has made to put Milan under sequestration, if the Emperor refuses to subscribe to the treaty. I highly approve the reasons the king of England has for believing that it is better to place this sequestration in the hands of the Venetians, than to confide it to the Swiss. Peace having been made with Turkey, the republic of Venice will probably have sufficient troops to hold that state; and, it is so important for the republic, that the Emperor should pretend to nothing beyond what will be stipulated by the treaty, that there is no reason to doubt of its

delaying to deliver it to that prince, till he has agreed to the partition which has been decided upon.

As this treaty is made with a view to the general good of all Europe, and since it is necessary, in order to preserve peace, that the tranquillity of Italy shall be considered, the means of succeeding in this is certainly to place the share of the Archduke under his name, and not under that of the Emperor. The rights of the Imperial crown will always afford pretexts to the Emperor to set up fresh claims. The Archduke being in possession of Milan, will not have the same pretexts nor the same facilities for aggrandising himself. The clause stipulated by the Article XIII. of the draft which I sent you, will suffice to confine the Archduke to the limits of his share, and the guarantee of the whole league, which is mentioned in the same article, would perhaps not be capable of hindering the Emperor from adding to his power, at the expense of his neighbours. We have seen, for some time past, the use which he makes, even at Rome, of the pretended rights of the Imperial crown. If he possessed the duchy of Milan, we should soon see titles to prove that the states of Italy, which were more convenient for him, were imperial fiefs. The weakest would be attacked first; and being unable to resist, they would submit rather than call in the assistance of the guarantees of the treaty. If others had recourse to the league, the Emperor would show that it was not a case to which the guarantee could apply; that no one has

a right to hinder him from exercising an authority which always belonged to him, and which consequently has nothing to do with the treaty, because the guarantee extends only to the rights acquired by the treaty.

It is in this respect that there is a very great difference between the share which my son reserves to himself, and that which should be ceded to the Emperor. All that is included in the share of my son, is without dispute subject to the guarantee. He cannot pretend to other rights than those of the dominions themselves, which will be reserved to him. The Emperor, on the contrary, shows but too clearly by his conduct towards the Pope and the princes of Italy, that he would add to the rights which the duchy of Milan now enjoys, the pretensions of the Imperial crown, and would maintain, as I have already observed, that the guarantee cannot have any effect in this respect.

As this inconvenience will not occur when Milan shall be ceded expressly to the Archduke, to enjoy it in perpetuity for himself and his descendants, it is my intention that you should very clearly state all these reasons to the king of England; that you should add all those which you think most calculated to convince him of the necessity of naming the Archduke, and not the Emperor, for the possession of Milan; that if, notwithstanding all that you may say to him, he still persists in placing the cession of Milan under the name of the Emperor, as that of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily will be under the name of my son, you will

propose an expedient to preserve that kind of equality which he has it in view to establish, without risking the inconveniences which may be foreseen from giving the Emperor such great power in Italy.

This expedient would be to agree by the treaty, that as soon as my son should have entered on the possession of his share, he should cede the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to one of my grandsons, that the one whom he should choose should go and reside at Naples; that on this condition it should be specified that Milan should belong to the Archduke. In this manner, equality would be preserved, inasmuch as my son would not enjoy the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily himself, as the Emperor would not enjoy Milan; that the same thing which my son would do for his second or third son, would likewise be done for the second son of the Emperor: there then would be entire equality in the essential points.

There would indeed be a difference in the form, and if the king of England persists in an affair in which it is so important for the good of Europe to prevent the Emperor from becoming master of Milan, it is easy to see that he will tell you that thepretensions of my son, and those of the Emperor, are on an equal footing, and consequently that they should be treated in the same manner; that is to say, to nominate the Emperor, if my son is nominated; and not to nominate my son, unless that prince be so likewise. I cannot assign stronger reasons than those which are contained in this letter, to refute this argument.

If that prince should propose to you, that it be stipulated that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily cannot be united to my crown, you will show him how unjust it would be to require this condition of me, when the Emperor is not obliged to promise that Milan can never be united to the Imperial crown, even if the Archduke should die without children, and his descendants should fail; that if he proposes to you to oblige the Emperor to make this renunciation in perpetuity, provided that my son makes a similar renunciation, you will not accept it, this condition being wholly different from what has been hitherto in negotiation.

Lastly, if the king of England does not agree to either of these expedients, and, if what you shall say to him does not convince him of what is really the most calculated to preserve the general tranquillity, I am willing that, after having exhausted all your arguments, you shall consent at the last extremity that Milan shall be ceded to the Emperor by name. But I cannot believe that this condition will contribute to the end which I propose, and to that which the king of England has also in view.

As that prince appeared at first to have but little objection to include the island of Sardinia in the share of my son, I am persuaded that, if you have desisted from it, you will have done so only at the last extremity.

I shall not oppose the regency of the kingdom of Spain being given, as he wishes, to the elector of Bavaria.

LORD CHANCELLOR SOMERS TO WILLIAM III.

Tunbridge Wells, $\frac{\text{August 28.}}{\text{September 8.}}$ 1698.

Having your Majesty's permission to try if the waters would contribute to the re-establishment of my health, I was just got to this place when I had the honour of your commands. I thought the best way of executing them would be to communicate to my Lord Orford, Mr. Montague, and the Duke of Shrewsbury (who, before I left London, had agreed upon a meeting about that time), the subject of my Lord Portland's letter, at the same time letting them know how strictly your Majesty required that it should remain an absolute secret.

Since that time Mr. Montague and Mr. Secretary are come down hither; and, upon the whole discourse, three things have principally occurred to be humbly suggested to your Majesty.

First, that the entertaining a proposal of this nature seems to be attended with very many ill consequences, if the French did not act a sincere part. But we were soon at ease as to any apprehension of this sort, being fully assured your Majesty would not act but with the utmost nicety in an affair wherein the glory and safety of Europe were so highly concerned.

The second thing considered was the very ill prospect of what was like to happen upon the death of the king of Spain, in case nothing was done previously towards the providing against that accident, which

seemed probably to be very near; the king of France having so great a force in such a readiness that he was in a condition to take possession of Spain before any other prince could be able to make a stand. Your Majesty is the best judge whether this be the case, who are so perfectly informed of the circumstances of parts abroad.

But, so far as relates to England, it would be want of duty not to give your Majesty this clear account, that there is a deadness and want of spirit in the nation, universally so, as not at all to be disposed to the thought of entering into a new war, and that they seem to be tired out with taxes to a degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections; this is the truth, of the fact upon which your Majesty will determine what resolutions are proper to be taken.

That which remained, was the consideration what would be the condition of Europe if the proposal took place. Of this we thought ourselves little capable of judging, but it seemed, that if Sicily was in the French hands, they will be entirely masters of the Levant trade; that if they were possessed of Final, and those other sea-ports on that side, whereby Milan would be entirely shut out from relief by sea or any other commerce, that dutchy would be of little signification in the hands of any prince; and that, if the king of France had possession of that part of Guipuscoa, which is mentioned in the proposal, besides the ports he would have in the ocean, it does seem he

would have as easy a way of invading Spain on that side, as he now has on the side of Catalonia.

But it is not to be hoped that France will quit its pretences to so great a succession without considerable advantages; and that we are all assured your Majesty will reduce the terms as low as can be done, and make them, as far as is possible in the present circumstances of things, such as may be some foundation for the future quiet of Christendom; which all your subjects cannot but be convinced is your true aim. If it could be brought to pass that England might be in some way a gainer by this transaction, whether it was by the elector of Bavaria (who is gainer by your Majesty's interposition in this treaty), his coming to an agreement to let us into some trade to the Spanish plantations, or in any other manner, it would wonderfully endear your Majesty to your English subjects.

It does not appear, in case this negotiation should proceed, what is to be done on your part in order to make it take place; whether any more be required that the English and Dutch should sit still, and France itself to see it executed. If that be so what security ought to be expected, that if, by our being masters, the French be successful, they will confine themselves to the terms of the treaty, and not attempt to make further advantages of their success.

I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that these thoughts are so ill put together, the waters are known to discompose and disturb the head, so as

almost totally to disable one from writing. I should be extremely troubled if my absence from London has delayed the despatch of the commission one day. You will be pleased to observe, that two persons (as the commission is drawn) must be named in it, but the powers may be executed by either of them. I suppose your Majesty will not think it proper to name commissioners that are not English or naturalized, in an affair of this nature.

I pray God give your Majesty honour and success in all your undertakings. I am, with the utmost duty and respect, Sire, your Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant.

P. S. The commission is wrote by Mr. Secretary, and I have had it sealed in such a manner that no creature has the least knowledge of the thing, besides the persons named.*

* "It must be admitted that he (Lord Somers) acted most unconstitutionally in sending blank commission under the Great Seal, by which any commissioners whose names William might please to insert in it should be authorised to conclude the treaty on the terms proposed, or on any other terms which William might dictate. There can be no doubt that if his opinion upon a matter of such magnitude was disregarded, it was his duty to resign; and that at all events he ought not to have enabled the King to conclude an important treaty, by which England was to be bound, without the privity and advice of a responsible English minister. If the government was to be carried on by the sovereign's personal exercise of the prerogative, what had been gained by the revolution?" *Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, Vol. IV.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utrecht, September 8. 1698.

I have just returned from Loo where every thing was concluded this morning at 10 o'clock.* As I shall want more than twenty-four hours before I can give your Majesty an account of all that has passed, and as you must be impatient to hear from me, I send this courier beforehand, who will be followed by another to-morrow evening, or on the following morning. On the whole, Sire, Milan is

* Here is the substance of the treaty known by the name of the first Partition treaty, which was definitively signed at the Hague the 11th of October.

By this treaty it was agreed, that the peace of Ryswick should be confirmed; that in consideration of the ill state of the king of Spain's health, and for preserving the public peace, in case the said prince should die without issue, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places then depending upon the Spanish monarchy, situated on the coast of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands, comprehended under the name of Santo Stephano, Porto-Ercole, Orbitello, Telamore, Porto-Longone, Piombino, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, and especially the Port Passage, and likewise all places on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alava, or Biscay, on the side of the province of Guipuscoa, should be given to the Dauphin in consideration of his right; that the crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms and places both within and without Europe, should descend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, of whom his father, the Elector, was to be a guardian and administrator till he came of age; and that the duchy of Milan should be reserved and alotted to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's second son. This treaty was to be communicated to the Emperor and the elector of Bavaria by the king of England and the States General; and if they did not agree to it, then the

under the power of the Archduke, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and all the rest, under that of the Dauphin; the States General are comprehended in the same treaty as your Majesty and the king of England. They will have an extraordinary meeting to-morrow on this occasion, and will sign before the 29th of this month. The intentions of your Majesty to cut off all pretensions of the Emperor are entirely followed; in short, I hope that your Majesty will be satisfied. You ought to be so with the king of England, for, since an agreement has been made respecting the augmentation of your Majesty's power, it is impossible to show more regard for your Majesty than this prince has really done; for I have been master of every thing that could contribute to exclude the Emperor.

I think it my duty to lose no time in having the honour to tell your Majesty that the Venetians have no concern whatever in the matter. I have done every thing for the best, and I hope that you will be satisfied with what has been done on this point.

portion of the party not agreeing should remain in sequestration till things could be brought to an accommodation; and in case the electoral prince of Bavaria should come to inherit his share, and yet die before his father without issue, the Elector was to succeed him in those dominions, and his heir after him; likewise the duchy of Milan, upon the Archduke's refusal to accept it, was to be sequestered to, and governed by the Prince de Vaudemont, and after him by his son, Prince Charles de Vaudemont.

The text of this treaty will be found entire in the Appendix.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utretcht, September 9. 1698.

Your Majesty will find annexed the copy of the draft of the treaty which has been resolved on, and signed by the king of England, with a note, at the foot, in that prince's own handwriting, in which he declares it to be converted into a treaty, if the king of Spain should die before the exchange of the ratifications; the time for which is fixed the 20th of October, because the treaty will not be signed till the 29th of this month. Two reasons are the occasions of this delay.

One is that the king of England desired that the Dutch should enter into the same treaty which your Majesty and himself are to sign. Now it requires time to assemble the States General, and none has been lost in doing so, for they meet to-day, and for sending it to the provinces; in a word, the formalities necessitate the delay which has been agreed to.

The other reason is, that the Chancellor of England was at Tunbridge Wells, and the full powers are not yet arrived. But the reason which I believe is the most essential, and which has not been mentioned, is that this prince would not have it known by a date, either in England or in the Hague, that a treaty had been signed before they had been consulted; and, that what was written yesterday, being suppressed on the exchange of the ratifications, there will remain nothing but what is posterior to the deliberation of the States,

and to the advice which he will have asked of one or two of the chiefs of the cabal in England.

Be this as it may, what is written appears to me as safe, for such a short space of time, as a treaty, and it is certain that a prince who would fail in a declaration, written by his own hand, would not have much scruple in breaking a treaty, if it suited his convenience. Your Majesty will see, by the writing which I have signed, of which you will find a copy at the foot of that of the duplicate which I have given to the king of England, that I have engaged to produce before the 20th of this month, a declaration of your Majesty, agreeing word for word with that which the king of England has written with his own hand at the foot of the duplicate which he has delivered to me: I humbly beg your Majesty to enable me to fulfil the engagement into which I have entered. It will likewise be necessary to have, at the foot of what shall be written and signed by your Majesty, the approbation of the Dauphin, as far as he is concerned.

I am very much vexed that your Majesty does not find the island of Sardinia comprehended in the treaty, for though it is of no importance to your Majesty, it is an additional name. But, Sire, the king of England plainly perceived that we should not break off on that account. I thought the same with respect to him, but there was this difference between him and me, that he had it in his power to yield and grant it, when he should think he had held out long enough; and that, as for myself, who after returning from Loo, where I went only once a

fortnight, and did not know when he would set out for Zell, where I should have lost sight of him, and where it is probable he might take measures contrary to the interests of your Majesty, I hazarded the success of the affair if I did not give way. It is certain that he waited for the conclusion of this matter, to decide on the use he will make of the time that he passes on this side of the sea; he has declared since the agreement has been concluded, that he will not go to Germany for some time, and has fixed that the review of the Dutch troops, which are assembling between Arnheim and Dorvert, shall take place on the 18th, 19th, and 20th, of this month; after which the camp will break up.

I have to give an account to your Majesty of so many things, and am so pressed for time, that I shall pass over many details. I, however, have the honour to tell you, that the principal changes which have been made in the draft of a treaty, which your Majesty did me the honour to send me, consists in some terms and some formalities on the renunciation of the Dauphin; to which I consented, because they consented on their part to what I wished, respecting the exclusion of the Emperor, and to the Archduke. What concerns the latter is accompanied with such clauses that I shall not be surprized if he does not enter, for a long time, into the possession of his share.

The difficulties which were found in placing Milan in the hands of the Venetians, the embarrassment which would be occasioned by not rendering the clause of sequestration general among all the

princes who share the Spanish succession, and of designating Milan, and the Archduke in particular, and the advantage which I found in having the Prince de Vaudemont master of it; (who, in consequence of the little desire which your Majesty will have to remove him, and from the friendship which the king of England feels for him, may very well retain the government of that country for several years,) have induced me to consent to what was proposed on this subject, upon the conditions which your Majesty will see in Article IX. of the treaty.

As for the duke of Savoy, I have followed the orders of your Majesty respecting him; I have proposed him, but I will not conceal that it was with pleasure that I perceived they always came back to the elector of Bavaria; for, the former is ambitious, economical, able, capable of restoring the finances of Spain, of building fortresses, where they are necessary, has Piedmont situated in a very dangerous quarter, which would have acted in the same manner as his kingdom, — which as your Majesty has intimated to me was also your opinion; whereas, the elector of Bavaria thinks only of his pleasures, neglects everything, and lets us see, by the condition of Flanders, through which I have just travelled, that Spain, in his hands, will remain in the same condition as it has been for many years.

The Dutch were very desirous that the former prince should obtain the succession of his Catholic Majesty, in case the Electoral Prince should die without issue. I listened to what the Earl of Port-

land said to me on this subject, on his return from the Hague, without declaring myself. But when he had been at Loo I learnt, by a letter which he wrote to me, that the king, his master, had made him change his sentiments, and my zeal in your Majesty's service made me very glad of this.

I have proposed to the king of England to begin to take measures, in case of the sudden death of the king of Spain; that is to say, to write to the Prince de Vaudemont on the conduct which he must observe, to send sealed packets to the ambassadors at Lisbon and Madrid, not to be opened except in the case which would be pointed out, in order that, by declaring the convention which had just been signed, they may hinder the king of Portugal from making any movement, and the Spaniards from forming cabals. He replied, that there was no hurry for this; and it appeared to me that he waits for what I may say to him. After this he merely added, that the king of Portugal has caused overtures to be made to him, that he had kept his answer in suspense, but that at present it would not be conformable to what he wished.

I have only to repeat to your Majesty how much reason you have to be satisfied with the manner in which the king of England has acted towards you, as soon as an agreement was made respecting the augmentation of your power; and in this point, Sire, he has acted the part that became him. If he made the objection of which I had the honour to inform your Majesty, viz. that the share of the

Dauphin being united to the crown of France, Milan ought to belong to the Emperor, it was rather to indicate that he saw what he was doing than to dispute it, for no mention has since been made of it. In this confession your Majesty sees that I do not desire unmerited honour. In fine, he has been ready to come forward in everything that could mark the sentiments which he entertains for your Majesty; not but that he is proud, none can be more so, though with a modest manner, nor can any be more jealous than he is of every thing relative to his rank.

MR. SECRETARY VERNON TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{August 30.}}{\text{September 10.}}$ 1698.

My Lord, I went with Mr. Montague to Tunbridge on Saturday last, from thence I brought back the commission under the great seal that I now send you. My Lord Chancellor writes to his Majesty, and will himself give an account what his thoughts are in this important matter. I need, therefore, only to say in general, that our circumstances seem to be such at present as may make this accommodation very advisable; our people are either so unable to bear great taxes, or wearied with them, that they cannot be brought to grant the supplies necessary for such a war: those who are against managing it as the last was, by main-

taining a great army in Flanders, would in all likelihood be the prevailing party, and carry the resolutions for being no otherwise concerned than by sea, whereby Flanders and Holland would be fatally exposed. If ever a Parliament should come to understand that Spain, Flanders, and the Indies, might be kept out of the French hands without a war, as it is probable they would not fail to insinuate, there would be still greater difficulties to engage the nation in the support of a war that was not unavoidable; that we should not think it worth while to hazard all we have, only that the Spanish monarchy may be kept entire, nor would it be much our concern if the Italian princes had an ill neighbour of the French; not but that it were to be wished, for the sake of our trade to the Levant and Gulf of Venice, that Sicily might remain united with Spain, and that the ports and places in Tuscany may rather be annexed to the duchy of Milan. If the terms can be bettered, it is hoped that Guipuscoa shall not be dismembered from Spain, which will ill preserve itself if another inlet be made into it. It is supposed we are not to use force for making good the terms that shall be agreed on, or be a party to the war if the Emperor continues averse to an accommodation. But, above all, it is apprehended, least this may be a snare laid to represent his Majesty as one capable of relinquishing his former engagements, and preferring his own personal interest before all other considerations, and by that means lay a foundation for new alliances, which may be most prejudicial to his Majesty and

his kingdoms. However, it is not doubted that his Majesty will nicely consider all the conveniences and inconveniences that offer themselves in a question of this nature, and conclude only that which is most safe and prudent.

His Majesty not having declared his pleasure whom he intends to employ as commissioners, a blank is left for two persons, with a power to one only to act if his Majesty shall think fit, and the second name may be inserted only for form sake. There is a blank likewise left for the date, which is to be filled up as his Majesty shall direct.

I believe the secret will strictly be kept here. I do not find it has been communicated to more than I have given an account of.

It is necessary that my Lord Chancellor have a warrant for affixing the seal. I hope, therefore, your lordship will return that I sent by Mr. Jackson, and let me know at the same time the date the commission bears which the warrant must agree with.

Your lordship will please to remember that the commission must be signed by the King. I have inclosed another draught of the warrant in case the former should be mislaid.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Compiegne, September 14. 1698.

The letter which you wrote to me on the 8th of this month informed me, in general, of the con-

clusion of your negotiation. I learnt the details by your letter of the 9th, and see, by the copy which you have sent me of the articles signed by the king of England, that you have punctually executed my orders, and perfectly followed out my intentions.

If I did not comprehend the States General in the draft which I sent to you, the only reason which hindered me was the uncertainty whether they would enter into it, and I made no difficulty in admitting them when the king of England should have induced them to agree to it; I, therefore, see with pleasure the league strengthened by their junction: the declaration made by the king of England remedies, at the same time, the inconvenience which might be occasioned by the delay. Diligence becomes, indeed, more necessary than ever on the present occasion, and you will see, by the last letters from the Marquis d'Harcourt that the state of the king of Spain's health is such, that news of his death may be every moment expected.

I am, however, as confident in the word of the king of England, contained in the writing which he has given you, as if the treaty were drawn up with all formality; and I send you my declaration, such as you have promised him, with the articles, which I have likewise signed. You will also find the consent of my son under the declaration which I give.

I approve the reasons which you add, for not insisting any further on the article of Sardinia; it

was too important to regulate everything in the manner in which it has been done, to expose the conclusion to further delays, such as you very justly anticipated.

The changes made in the draft which I had sent you, do not at all prejudice the principal affair. There are, even, in several articles, explanations more precise, and things are so specified that there can remain no difficulties, with respect to the share of my son. Lastly, I remark, that the king of England concurs entirely in my views of excluding the Emperor, for the good of Europe, from all the pretensions which he might make to the states dependent upon the Spanish monarchy, except Milan, which he has agreed to leave to the Archduke.

As you have found on this point all the facilities which you would desire on the part of the king of England, I am persuaded that that prince will also agree, that it is absolutely necessary to insert in the treaty to be made, terms and clauses which may still further secure the exclusion of the Emperor; and I have no doubt that he would have admitted them, if they had been set down in the draft which I had sent to you.

It is said, for instance, at the end of Article II. that the opening of the Spanish succession would kindle a new war, if I supported the claims of my son; that the Emperor would also support the pretensions of the Archduke, his second son, &c. The reflection which I made when I read the proposal which you have sent me, is that no mention is made

in it of the pretensions of the king of the Romans; that nevertheless those of that prince have naturally the precedence of those of the Archduke. It would therefore be necessary to add to this article after the terms: "that the Emperor would also bring forward his pretensions," the words "or those of the king of the Romans, or those of the Archduke his second son, or of any other of his children."

But the consequence of this omission is far greater in the sequel of the treaty, than in Article II. By Article V. my son renounces in perpetuity all his rights and pretensions, directly or indirectly, to the Spanish succession, as well for himself as for his children and descendants, his heirs and successors, born or who shall be born. The Emperor pretends, in his own person, to the Spanish succession. It is only through him that his children can have any pretensions, yet he does not bind himself to renounce as my son does, and the renunciation is stipulated only on the part of the Archduke. To put matters on their proper footing, it should be stipulated in Article VII. that the Emperor, by virtue of the cession made to the Archduke, his second son, renounces in perpetuity for himself, for his male and female children, for their descendants born and who shall be born; and that the electoral prince of Bavaria renounces, in like manner, all rights and pretensions.

It would likewise be necessary to know if the renunciation which the late electress of Bavaria made at the time of her marriage was in favour of the Emperor, or of his children. The king of Eng-

land may perhaps be informed of it, and I am likewise endeavouring to obtain information. If this renunciation was made in favour of the king of the Romans, it is still more important that that prince should renounce all pretensions by the treaty now in question.

Lastly, on the same principle of now taking measures to prevent war, whatever may happen, I am persuaded that the king of England should communicate to the Emperor the Secret Article, at least the second part of that article, in order that he may subscribe to it as well as to the rest of the treaty, and, that the princes who enter this league should also be guarantees of this article; it will therefore be proper to give it the title of a Separate Article—not secret article,—or even to include it in the body of the treaty. It is also to be considered that if this article is not communicated to the Emperor, signed and ratified by that prince, he would remain at liberty to enforce his pretensions, in case of the death of the Electoral Prince without children, whereas my son would be bound, by the treaty, to be contented with his share.

I had also mentioned in my letter of the 2d of this month that it was necessary to stipulate that the Emperor should renounce. You will also explain to the king of England the inconveniences which might be foreseen, if this renunciation of the Emperor, for himself, for his children born and who shall be born, male and female, and their descendants, were not expressed as one of the conditions of the treaty; and, as my son binds himself

to renounce, I do not see that the king of England can make any difficulty in agreeing to a clause so conformable to the object which I have in view, and to that which that prince himself proposes. I desire on this occasion only what is necessary to preserve the peace of Europe.

The articles which I have signed are however such as you sent them; it will be easy to add what I propose to the treaty when it shall be drawn up, to be signed and then ratified in the usual form. I have struck out the words "to beg," which was inserted in the last clause of the Secret Article, which says, that it shall be permitted to me and the king of England, as well as to the States General, "to require and beg all those," &c. This term is not compatible with my dignity; and I am persuaded that the king of England will think the same, so far as he is concerned, when he has reflected upon it. It will be sufficient to put only "require and invite."

For the rest, I am extremely satisfied with the prudent conduct which you have observed in the whole course of this affair, and with the manner in which you have terminated it. Its conclusion is one of the strongest proofs which I can give the king of England of the high esteem, and of the perfect union which I desire henceforth to maintain with him.

DECLARATION OF LOUIS XIV.

Having projected a treaty with our very dear brother the king of Great Britain, and our very dear and noble friends the States General of the United Provinces, for the maintenance of peace, which we have much at heart, and fearing that before it can be completed with the necessary formalities, the peace may be interrupted by the sudden death of our very dear brother his Catholic Majesty, we promise and engage, on the faith and word of a king, that if, which God forefend, the king of Spain should die without children, before the signature and ratification of the treaty; in this case, we will hold this draft of a treaty and the secret article, which we have signed with our own hand, at each article, as a treaty made and complete in all its forms, and will cause it to be signed before the 29th of September in due form, and ratified before the 20th of October, if possible, without making any change in it, except what we, our very dear brother the king of Great Britain, and our very dear and noble friends the States General of the United Provinces, shall by common consent see good. In testimony whereof we have written and signed the present declaration, and have caused it to be sealed with our privy seal, to have the same validity as if it were sealed with our great seal.

Done at Compiegne, the 14th day of September, 1698.

DECLARATION OF THE DAUPHIN.

I the undersigned Dauphin of France, only son of the king, consent to what is contained in the above articles signed by the hand of the king, my beloved and honoured lord and father, promising to sign and ratify the treaty which is to be made conformably to these articles.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, September 14. 1698.

I see that you have brought this great work into the assembly of the States, and I have no hopes that it will remain a secret long, which it ought to have done; and we should certainly have been able to direct the work with more facility and less blame, at Vienna than at Madrid. It will cause an amazing emotion when it becomes public, which I now think will be inevitable, though we must still try to keep it as secret as possible. The Earl of Portland will inform you of my sentiments about the form of signing the treaty, and what else relates to it. I hope to confer with you here this day se'ennight, upon these affairs, more at large. I am entirely of your opinion, that we ought to stipulate, with respect to the electoral prince of Bavaria, whatever we judge most tending to our own convenience and advantage; and I should be glad to know your thoughts about these particulars. It will be necessary to inform M. van Dyckwelt of it, in order to treat upon it; for it ought also to be concluded when the treaty with France comes to be ratified.

COUNT TALLARD TO THE MARQUIS DE TORCY.

Utrecht, September 15. 1698.

Lord Portland informs me that a copy of the treaty has been sent to the Earl of Jersey, but

merely as a proposal, which however was agreed upon. He has not been informed that it was signed, nor has any intimation been given him of the declaration which has been made by the king of England, or of the secret article; and he requests me to inform you of this, in order that if Lord Jersey speaks to you, or you to him, on this subject, you may know in how far he is acquainted with it, and you are very humbly requested not to let him know any more.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

My Lord, Loo, September 15. 1698.

I am very glad to learn by M. Prior's letters that you have arrived happily in France. I doubt not you will find your residence there very agreeable. As you are ignorant of what is doing here, his Majesty has commanded me to communicate it to you, recommending secrecy, which it is very important to observe. We are negotiating with the king of France and the States General, to regulate the Spanish succession, and to prevent a great and sanguinary war, which the sudden death of that king (which there is too much reason to fear and to expect) would infallibly occasion.

I send you the proposal on which we are nearly agreed. It may serve you to guide your conduct, and not to make a bad figure at the Court where

you now are, by being ignorant of this affair, if perhaps the King or some of his ministers should speak to you about it; if not, you are not to speak of it first, without further orders from his Majesty. No person knows anything of the matter, and it is extremely important that it should remain secret till it is wholly terminated.

First alternative: that one of the sons of the Dauphin should have Spain, the Indies, the countries and places which belong at present to that monarchy, with the exception of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, of Milan, which the Archduke should have, on condition that they should never be united to the Imperial Crown; the Low Countries, in the state in which they now are, are to belong to the electoral prince of Bavaria; Ceuta and Oran to the English; and to the Dutch, that part of St. Domingo which belongs to Spain, and a port in the kingdom of Naples or of Sicily.

Second alternative: that the electoral prince of Bavaria should have the kingdom of Spain, and all that at present depends on that monarchy, with the exception of the kingdom of Navarre, the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, and the duchy of Luxemburg, for the Dauphin; the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and Milan, for the Archduke.

Third alternative: the electoral prince of Bavaria to have the Spanish monarchy, and what now depends upon it, with the exception of the kingdom of Navarre, which would be for the Dauphin, with

Milan, Final, and the places on the coast of Tuscany; the Archduke to have the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utrecht, September 17. 1698.

I received the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me on the 14th of this month, just as I was setting out to pass the night within reach of the spot between Arnheim and Dorvert, where the king of England will to-morrow morning hold a review of the troops there encamped, and at which I have been invited to be present.

I will endeavour, when the treaty in question is written out fair, to insert what concerns the Emperor and the king of the Romans, being persuaded that I shall induce the king of England to make this a part of the treaty. But your Majesty may consider it as certain, at least the king of England is fully persuaded on his part, that the Emperor will never make the ulterior renunciation, and he doubts whether he will subscribe to the partition, and that security must be sought in the league.

I had proposed, as your Majesty ordered me in your letter, that the same princes who enter into the league, and become guarantees of the treaty, which is to be published, shall likewise become guarantees of the secret article. To this the king of England replied, that many princes of Germany would be

very willing to guarantee the partition of the Spanish monarchy, who would not engage so far against the Emperor as to make him renounce, per force, and therefore he believed it was best to begin by admitting them to the treaty.

The king of England desires above all things, that the secret article shall not become public, except in case of the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria. He will not change his opinion. For having even inserted that the kings, princes, &c., shall not be required to enter into it till after it shall have become public, he made me add, "*by the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria without children.*"

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utrecht, September 26. 1698.

The most celebrated treaty which has been made for many ages was at length signed, the day before yesterday, at nine o'clock in the evening at Loo, in the usual form. The Earl of Portland signed for the king of England, the States General will not be able to do so till between the 3d and 5th of October.

I have the honour to send your Majesty a copy of the treaty, to serve till I can have the original conveyed to you. You will perceive by it, either that the Emperor, the king of the Romans, and all his other children, will renounce the Spanish succession in the same terms, word for word, as the

House of France; or that the Archduke will never enter on the possession of Milan. I believe that all this is expressed in such a manner that it is no longer of any importance to your Majesty that the secret article should become public, this act being no longer necessary, except to designate a successor to the electoral prince of Bavaria, if he should die without children, and to prevent the succession from going to the duke of Savoy. I cannot state too strongly to your Majesty how much the king of England desires that it should not be made known; he goes so far in this that he would not have the States General apply to their provinces for the necessary consent to accede to it.

I know that he will not even communicate it to the elector of Bavaria; and I have the honour to mention this to your Majesty, in order that you may have the goodness to keep it secret on your part, for the sake of the correspondence. I believe that this forbearance of the king of England towards the Emperor arises from his being, at present, the mediator between that prince and the Turks; and because he hopes that the Emperor by his conduct, a short time after the ratification of the treaty, will give him occasion to keep no measures with him. Before quitting this subject I must have the honour of telling your Majesty, that the king of England and the Pensionary have agreed with me, that the act of the Dauphin, which I am to deliver to them in execution of the treaty, shall remain deposited in their hands till the Emperor, the king of the Romans, &c. on the one part, the Elector, and

the electoral prince of Bavaria on the other, shall have delivered similar acts, when they may be exchanged, without which they cannot part with them; and, that they shall give me a declaration in writing, at the time that I shall give them the last act, by which they will bind themselves to what I have just said.

It has also been agreed that the treaty which has been made, shall not be communicated to the Emperor till after the exchange of the ratifications, unless the king of Spain should die before, in which case it will be communicated to him immediately; that, eight days after the notification of the said treaty shall have been made to his said Imperial Majesty, negotiations shall be commenced with the crowns of the North, and with all the princes of Germany, to invite them to accede to it.

The king of England will set out for Zell next Tuesday, the 30th of this month; more than three weeks will elapse before he returns, and he is not going back to England till the end of November. I do not see any object in this journey except to make himself talked of, and to excuse himself to the English for having crossed the sea, making them believe that he had very important motives for conferring with the princes of Germany. I have spoken of it in these very terms to Lord Portland, who could not help laughing.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND AND SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Loo, September 27. 1698.

The treaty relating to the succession of the crown of Spain being now finally adjusted and signed between us and the French ambassador, we do, by his Majesty's command here enclosed, send you a copy of the same in order to have it ratified in the usual form under the great seal, with what speed may be. You will also receive herewith the copies of the two secret articles relating to the matter of the treaty, which must likewise be ratified at the same time. And as to the two secret articles, his Majesty commands us to signify to you that they are not to be communicated to anybody save to my Lord Chancellor alone.

The original powers, as well from the king of France as from the Dauphin to M. Tallard, are in our hands, whereof copies shall be sent to you by the next, in order to have them inserted, as the usage is, in the ratification you are to prepare.

You will find in the copy of the treaty now sent you, a large blank for the name of the commissioners on the part of the States, which has been found necessary to be done, for that the matter having not yet been communicated to the States, it could not be known whom they will appoint for commissioners; and this being so, it will be necessary that in the ratification which is to pass the great seal, there be also a like blank left as well, in the preface, for their names and titles, as also at

the foot of the treaty for their signing and sealing; which shall be filled up on this side so soon as it shall be known who they are that the States shall employ in that service, and copies sent you of the exact words with which those blanks shall be filled up by us; that so your entry book may be perfected, and the enrolment made hereafter upon it when it shall be thought fit.

You will please likewise to leave a blank in the ratification for the date of the treaty and the secret articles; which for the same reason are left, as you will see, in the blank in the instrument signed.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, October 1. 1698.

I had received your letter of the 17th when that was brought which you wrote on the 26th, with a copy of the treaty, such as you signed it in the last instance with Lord Portland. Your first letter only prepared me for the details contained in the last. After having heard this second letter read, and examined all the articles of the draft, I see with pleasure that you have remedied all the inconveniences which I had foreseen; in fine, you have perfectly followed out my intentions, and it was impossible to execute my orders with more prudence and more ability, than you have manifested in this negotiation.

The engagements of the Emperor, and of his children, and those of the elector and of the elec-

toral prince of Bavaria, are precisely similar to those of my son, and as it is my intention punctually to execute the treaty, and as the sentiments of my son are the same, there are no terms which I find too strong, with regard to him, when these same terms are employed in the articles in which the renunciation of those princes is stipulated.

Since the king of England wishes that the separate article shall remain secret, you will no further insist upon having it inserted in the body of the treaty; and in fact this condition becomes the less necessary, since the renunciation of the Emperor, and of his children, are so clearly expressed as they now are. You will assure the king of England of my observing secrecy with respect to this article, nor shall any thing be said, on my part, of the treaty in general; and I shall wait till the public is informed of it by the communication which that prince will make to the Emperor.

It was necessary to agree, as you have done, that the act which you are to give, signed by my son, should be safely kept, as well by the king of England as by the States General, without either of those powers being at liberty to part with it, before having received similar acts from the other contracting parties to exchange them, and the declaration which you have required, is a fresh bond to secure the execution of the treaty.

I shall send you with satisfaction my ratification, and I shall have that of my son added to it as soon as I shall have received the treaty signed by the States General. You may also say that my orders

will be immediately sent to my ambassadors at Madrid and Lisbon; but as I am fully acquainted with the prudence and fidelity of the Marquis d'Harcourt I have entire confidence in him, I therefore give you notice, for your private instruction, that I have informed him of every thing that has passed in this negotiation, and of its happy conclusion. It was, besides, absolutely necessary to communicate it to him, because his conduct must have been very different in the present conjuncture, from what it would have been if I had not treated with the king of England.

This important negotiation being terminated, the principal point at present is to examine what is to be done in order to engage the princes of the Empire to join in the same treaty. I am persuaded that it will not be very difficult to induce several of the most considerable of them to join; but this must be done in a different manner from what the king of England proposes.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utrecht, October 2. 1698.

The Earl of Portland has desired that another minister should sign the treaty with him. He had already mentioned it at Loo, but as it was not wholly settled at that time I had not the honour to inform your Majesty of it; since then, Sir Joseph Williamson, ambassador of the king of England in Holland, has arrived here; I went

to see him as soon as I knew that he was here, and he told me, what Lord Portland had signified to me on the same day, viz. that he had orders to come hither to sign the treaty concluded between your Majesty and the king, his master. In short, he came on the evening of the following day: he inserted his name in the full powers which have been delivered to me, sealed with the great seal of England, and signed his name above that of Lord Portland.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Fontainbleau, October 10. 1698.

The whole conduct of the king of England increases the confidence which I have in the sincerity of his intentions; it is on this ground that it seems to me very proper to communicate to him the just reflections which must be made on the manner of executing the treaty. It is stated that the king of England is to acquaint the Emperor with it as soon as the ratifications shall be exchanged. The inconveniences which I foresee from this communication are very considerable.

There is every appearance that the Emperor, who has always had it in view to obtain the whole of the Spanish succession, will not be content with his share. He will communicate the treaty to his Catholic Majesty as soon as it is published; and the grandees of Spain, and the people, who are equally

animated by the desire to hinder the division of the monarchy, will unite together, and will favour all the pretensions of the Emperor rather than consent to the partition of the states which depend on the crown of Spain. The grandees will not agree to lose, for ever, the hope of obtaining the vice-royalties of Naples and Sicily, and the government of Milan. Thus the public interest, and that of individuals, coinciding, it will not be difficult for the Emperor to induce the king of Spain to send for the Archduke, and get him recognised by all the states of the monarchy. It is my wish that you shall communicate these reflections to the king of England, but only to concert with him the measures to be taken to remove this difficulty. He has the same view as myself to prevent war; and it is on this ground that we must examine whether the most sure means of preserving peace, is not to keep the treaty secret, with respect to the Emperor, so that he may not take any steps to counteract its execution. My opinion is that we should proceed in this manner, and conceal the treaty from the Emperor, as much as possible, till the time of the king of Spain's death. It is further to be remarked that, according to the accounts which I have received from Madrid, his Catholic Majesty may live longer than has hitherto been supposed, and, consequently, the Emperor would have still greater facility in succeeding in favour of the Archduke.

The only difficulty which might deter the king of England would, perhaps, be that he might be-

lieve that the treaty, not having been communicated to the Emperor previously to that event, I, too, might pretend to be free to support the rights of my son if one of my grandsons were invited by the Spaniards. If you believe that this consideration would hinder him from taking the measures which I think necessary for the execution of the treaty, you will assure him, in my name, that if the communication to be made to the Emperor be deferred, for the reasons which I have just stated to you, I shall hold myself not the less bound to the punctual execution of all the conditions on which I have agreed; and you will assure him that what I order you to propose to him, is only with a view to attain the more surely the object of the treaty. I am even willing, if the king of England enters into this view, that a new article shall be drawn up, which you will sign, and of which I will send you the ratification. In short, I have no other object than to ensure the execution of a treaty made for the preservation of peace; and as this is also the object of the king of England, I propose to him what I think most calculated to attain it.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utrecht, October 14. 1698.

I have the honour to tell your Majesty, that, after having received letters from the Pensionary Heinsius, which appointed me to be at his residence

at the Hague yesterday morning, I went thither at six o'clock in the morning. The treaty, which was already signed by France and England, was then signed by the eight deputies of the States General.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, October 24. 1698.

I returned hither to-night in good health. It will give me great pleasure if the treaty with France can yet be kept secret; but I know not if she has not some further object in view. I have at all events reasons to begin to doubt her good faith; and with these I shall acquaint you further. Hence if business will permit it, I beg that you will set out from the Hague on Sunday or Monday next, in order to be here the day following, as it is necessary that I should converse with you upon this important matter, and some others. Notwithstanding the suspicions I entertain, I am of opinion that the ratifications of the treaty should be exchanged, that nothing may be wanting on our side. If you agree with me, the sooner it is done the better.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Fontainebleau, October 25. 1698.

I approve of the act of renunciation of the Emperor in the manner in which it is drawn up. One

circumstance alone gives me pain. That prince is not obliged to execute any deed before the death of the king of Spain, and yet I am bound, already, by those which I have executed and my son is equally bound. I have cause to require that things shall be made equal; that if the treaty is communicated to the Emperor, and he subscribes it, he shall sign the same document as you are now to deliver on my part, and that of my son; and that the elector of Bavaria be also obliged to do the same thing: in short, that the engagements shall be reciprocal on all sides. If the treaty is not communicated to the Emperor, or if he does not accept it, I agree that in this case no deed can be required from him; but if he joins in the same measures it is just that he should be bound by the same conditions.

You will state this to the king of England, in order that, if the treaty is communicated to the Emperor, and if he accepts it, that prince, and the king of the Romans, may at the same time execute deeds similar to those which you have received from me, and from my son; and promise, as I do, to give new ones in the event of the death of the king of Spain. If they consent, the deeds which they shall give may be exchanged with those which I deliver to the king of England; and, instead of that prince binding himself to keep mine in reserve till the death of his Catholic Majesty, those which I have signed, and those likewise which my son has signed, would be delivered to the Emperor, and, reciprocally, those

of the Emperor and the king of the Romans would be given me in exchange.

If this remark, just though it be, should cause a difficulty sufficiently considerable to impede the progress of the treaty, you will leave things as they are; and I am persuaded that the precautions which have been taken are adequate to ensure the effect of the treaty.

I still persist in believing that it would be necessary not to communicate it to the Emperor during the life of the king of Spain. I have pointed out the inconveniences to you in my last letter. The accounts which I receive from Madrid confirm me still more in this opinion, and I see no use in such a communication. Though a report of this treaty begins to be spread abroad, the conditions are unknown; and so long as it is not communicated in form to the Emperor, it will be much more easy to prevent the use, which that prince might think fit to make of it in Spain, than it will be when the treaty shall be communicated to him, and when the Spaniards can no longer doubt the truth of all the circumstances with which the Emperor will acquaint them. So long as they are in a state of uncertainty they will not venture to take any measures to prevent the effects of the treaty. They will see that a war is certain if they invite one of the sons of the Emperor, without having any reason to do so great an injury to the legitimate heir; but this fear will no longer restrain them, when they shall know for certain that the partition of the monarchy is resolved upon; and, rather than submit to

such partition, there is reason to believe that they will have recourse to every extremity. *

It is for the same reason that I am persuaded that it is very important not to communicate the treaty to the king of Spain; and even the decorum which the king of England desires to observe with such strictness, would not be regarded in communicating to that prince plans which have been formed during his life to divide his dominions after his death.

* "The king of France and his allies mutually engaged to keep the treaty secret, during the life of the king of Spain; a condition not less necessary than difficult to execute. For, in order to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, the principal design of the alliance, they were under a necessity of doing something to satisfy the Emperor, at the same time that they limited his views, which he was for extending to the entire succession of the Spanish monarchy. The view to moderate them was to let him see a formidable alliance, designed to oppose his ambition, unless he would be satisfied with the advantages stipulated in favour of his family. They must therefore acquaint him with the conditions of the treaty, in order to persuade him to sign them: on the other hand, the use he might make of that knowledge was dangerous and uncertain; since, if he would not consent to accept of the treaty, he might make a merit of refusal with the king of Spain. This monarch and his subjects, equally provoked by the treaty of partition, would expect no assistance but from the Emperor: consequently the hatred of the Spaniards against the Germans would turn against France, while the elector of Bavaria would be too weak to afford them any assistance. Perhaps the Pope, and the princes of Italy, would not scruple to declare in favour of the Emperor. Thus there was equal danger, either in communicating the treaty of partition to the court of Vienna, or in keeping it secret."—*Memoirs of Torcy.*

This silence, with regard to the Emperor and the king of Spain, must not, however, prevent the taking of all necessary measures to strengthen the alliance, by getting the princes of Germany, and those of Italy, to join it immediately after the exchange of the ratifications. As the king of England must have returned by this time, according to what you wrote to me from Zell, you will ascertain from him, on what princes of the Empire he thinks he can depend, and the orders which he will give on this subject to his ministers at their courts. I think, at the same time, of having the following princes spoken to; viz. the two northern sovereigns, the king of Poland, the Ecclesiastical electors, the elector of Brandenburg, the bishop of Munster, the duke of Wolfenbuttel, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, all the princes of Italy, the Swiss cantons, and the king of Portugal. When they shall learn that the king of England and the States General have joined with me, and that no apprehension should hinder them from following their real interests, they will soon wish to be included in this alliance. I do not see the same certainty on the part of the duke of Savoy: there is even reason to believe that he will be much vexed at hearing the news of this treaty, and at having no share in the Spanish succession. Besides, that prince conceals his sentiments and proceedings with so much care, that it is very uncertain whether he is not endeavouring, even now, to take secret measures with the Emperor. But whatever be his intentions, it is impossible that he can raise any obstacle to the execution

of the treaty. I doubt whether the king of England has any connexion with him, and the manner in which he spoke to you of him would lead me to infer the contrary.

As for the elector of Bavaria, I leave it to the king of England to take all necessary measures with him for the accomplishment of the treaty. The advantages which he derives from it leave no room to doubt of his ready assent to it. I approve the proposal which you make of seeing this prince in passing through Brussels, and acquainting him with the favourable sentiments which I have always entertained towards him, and the facility which I have ever manifested to promote his interests. But not to take any step which may appear suspicious to the king of England, you will communicate to that prince the order which I give you to pass through Brussels; and if you see that that journey gives him any uneasiness, you will not see the elector of Bavaria.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utrecht, November 3. 1698.

On arriving at Loo on Thursday last I went to Lord Portland's, where I found the Pensionary Heinsius. We laid our papers on the table; and as we had all many to read, the evening was not sufficient to complete everything that was to be done; but on the following day all was terminated, and we made an exchange of the ratifications.

After having had the honour to give an account to your Majesty of all agreeable occurrences, I have to relate one which I wish I could pass over in silence. The king of England said to me that he could not conceal his astonishment, that at the time when he was entering into the closest and most important engagements with us, more honours than ever were paid to King James, and there was a king of England at Fontainebleau, so called by all France, who had a larger court than could be told*; that he had forborne to speak to

* "My Lord Jersey had received no answer to the letter he had writ for directions about his going to Fontainebleau, and therefore he was still at Paris, and happens to be the only minister that is not at court. In the mean time he hears that King James and his Queen are highly caressed at Fontainebleau; that the chief court was made to Queen Mary, every body being at her toilet in the morning; that the king of France comes thither to lead her to chapel; that at meals the queen is placed between the two kings at the upper end of the table, and equal marks of distinction and sovereignty are paid to all three, and *à boire pour le roi d'Angleterre, ou pour la reine*, is spoke out as loud, and with as much ceremony as for the king of France. I believe my Lord Jersey is a little mortified at the figure he is obliged to make there."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* October 15. O. S. 1698.

"La cour partit pour Fontainebleau le 2 Octobre, et six jours après le roi et la reine d'Angleterre y arrivèrent, et on ne songea plus qu'au mariage de MADEMOISELLE (avec le duc de Lorraine) . . . . Le 12 Octobre les fiançailles se firent dans le cabinet du roi. Le lendemain toute la cour s'assembla chez la reine d'Angleterre, dans l'apartement de la reine-mère, comme cela se faisait tous les jours, tant qu'elle était à Fontainebleau tous les voyages. Les princesses n'y oseaint manquer, MONSEIGNEUR et tout la famille royale pareillement, et Madame

me about it during the negotiation of the treaty. I stopped him here, and answered, that it was the only way that could lead to its conclusion. He replied, that, even now, he would not speak of it, except to say a word, namely, that he pitied King James; that he thought him already so unfortunate that he was sorry to be obliged still farther to vex him; that God was witness of the uprightness of his conduct with respect to him; but that in truth there could not be two kings of England: adding some words very polite, but the meaning of which was very strong.

The Earl of Albemarle has been absent some days, and d'Alonne has been appointed to serve the King for the United Provinces. It was this business which the former transacted, and it is assuredly a striking proof that the Earl of Portland gets the upper hand: the other is sulky and keeps in the country.*

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de Maintenon elle-même et toute habillée en grand habit. On y attendait le Roi, qui y venait tous les jours prendre la reine d'Angleterre pour la messe, et qui lui donnait la main tout le chemin en allant et revenant, et faisant toujours passer le roi d'Angleterre devant lui." — *Mémoires de Saint-Simon.*

* "They write from Loo, that M. d'Alonne is made Dutch Secretary, and has got M. Zalecherie's place. I must needs say this is not what I expected, that a place which my Lord Albemarle has executed so long, should be given to a creature of my Lord Portland. I suppose it must cost the King something considerable to settle the balance." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* October, 29. O. S. 1698.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Fontainebleau, November 11. 1698.

After having done everything in my power to remove every cause of complaint and distrust on the part of the king of England, I should have had reason to expect the same effect from what you have to reply to the new demands that he has made. If ever that prince ought to be convinced of my friendship, it is assuredly at a time when the measures which I have taken, in concert with him, oblige me, for my own interest, to contribute to all his advantages. Not only ought he to retain no suspicion of the sincerity of my intentions, but he should also believe that I feel myself bound to pay particular attention to his remaining in his present situation. He will tell you that he is persuaded of this, but that his being so is not sufficient; that the English nation will not believe it, so long as it shall see another king of England with me; and that it will always be a pretext for keeping up cabals in the kingdom. This is the answer which he himself and his ministers have made up to this time. But what might have appeared plausible before the treaty, is no longer so since its conclusion. It is true that it is to remain secret; but though the details are so still, you are, however, aware that it is almost publicly known, that I have entered into engagements with that prince for the partition of the Spanish succession. People in England have less doubt on this subject than in any other country.

The extraordinary meeting of the Lords Justices and the sealed full powers which have been sent to Holland, have confirmed what was suspected at London about the treaty. Accordingly, the English are persuaded that I am at present closely united with the king, their master; that, far from desiring to make any resistance to him, I should, for my own interest, hinder all designs which should come to my knowledge that might be undertaken to his prejudice. I will even tell you that King James is convinced of this truth, and that he appears so inclined to pass the rest of his days in peace that he no longer speaks of any matter of business. The only consolation that remains to him in the unhappy situation to which he is reduced, is to see that I do not change my conduct towards him. You will tell the king of England that I am persuaded that, putting himself in my place, he cannot help thinking as I do on this subject. He will consider that decorum does not permit me now to refuse a retreat to a king whose birth has united him to me by the bonds of so close an affinity. He will perhaps tell you that he himself is allied to him, in a degree which is scarcely more remote; and you will answer, that for this reason, and for many others that are still stronger, I do not think that I do any thing against him by merely alleviating the misfortunes of his father-in-law, in things which are in no wise essential; that, in short, the perfect understanding being actually established, between me and that prince, on foundations so solid as those of the last treaty, I have reason to

expect that he will himself feel, that he ought not to make a request of me which honour does not allow me to grant; that he will judge of the pain which it gives me, to be obliged to refuse him what he may desire, and, at the same time, of the indispensable reasons not to change my conduct towards him.

As for the complaint which he makes of the title of king of England which King James retains, I do not see that any person can find fault with it. Ill fortune cannot take the title or quality of king from a person who has once received it. It has always been retained till death, even by those who have voluntarily abdicated the crown. King Casimir, who retired to my kingdom, was called, and treated as the king of Poland; Queen Christina always retained the title of queen of Sweden; the kings of Sweden and Poland, their successors, never complained that either of them retained the name belonging to the rank which they had once enjoyed; and they considered them as having a character which a change of fortune cannot obliterate. These examples are so rare that it would be difficult to quote many of them, but it may perhaps be added that the Palsgrave when deprived of his dominions, and of his electoral dignity, was treated as king of Bohemia by the States General, though he never had any valid title to that crown. You know that the court of King James during his stay at Fontainebleau, is composed only of mine; that during the rest of the year he passes a very lonely life at St. Germains; and it appears to me that

some hunting parties, given him for twelve or fifteen days, ought not to be a subject of reproach.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, November 16. 1698.

If the Earl of Albemarle, who left to-day for the Hague, in order to be enrolled in the Equestrian order of Holland *, should have spoken to you of the matter before my arrival, I beg you to assure him that I am inclined towards it; but at the same time tell him that, on account of the formalities, you fear that the matter cannot take place before my departure for England, for I can remain only a day or two at the Hague. I beg you will not let him see that I have written to you on this subject. I will tell you the reasons of all this when I see you.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Utrecht, November 17. 1698.

The most obvious reason, in the opinion of people, and of those to whom I have spoken of it,

* "Some time ago you wrote me that Madame van Voorst was very desirous that the Earl of Albemarle (her son) should be admitted into the Equestrian order of Holland. I was unwilling to speak to him on that subject, seeing he knew nothing of your having written to me about it. I waited till my return to the Hague to impart to you my ideas on the matter." — *William III. to the Pensionary Heinsius.* Kensington, May 10—20. 1698.

for the journey of the Earl of Jersey hither*, turns chiefly on the demands which the king of England desires him to make with respect to King James. For my part I believe that this is not the only reason, and that, as he is the principal and confidential friend of the Earl of Albemarle, they have been very glad to make him return, that he may assist in conciliating the latter, who had resolved to withdraw from his master's service, in consequence of the good treatment which the Earl of Portland had received; and at length he has reconciled him to the King. Lord Albemarle has resumed his ordinary routine, and a promise has been made to him that it shall be under him, and not under the King directly, that d'Alonne shall transact the business relative to the United Provinces, which will be the source of an infinity of disputes, because the said d'Alonne is entirely devoted to the Earl of Portland, and never would consent to see Lord Albemarle.

* "I have just now a letter from Mr. Prior of the 26th inst. O. S. He says my Lord Jersey went for Loo on Saturday last, the King having sent for him; but first he went to Fontainebleau, and desired a private audience of the King, the same night, which M. de Torcy was much surprised at, when Mr. Prior first told him of it, and would have made so sudden an audience impracticable, pretending the King was in strict devotions, being to receive the communion next day. But he was better satisfied when my Lord Jersey let him know he was pressed to go to Holland, so that at ten that night he had his audience, and came back with abundance of assurances of the King's resolutions to keep the peace." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* October 29. O. S. 1698.

MEMORANDUM ON THE AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND.*

December 2. 1698.

In the present situation of the affairs of England it may be taken for certain that they have not less changed their appearance at home than abroad, and, therefore, all that may have been observed of the past indications, cannot serve at present as any guide for the conduct of those who shall be entrusted with the King's affairs in that country. Those who were formerly in place are so no longer, others have come who formerly had not even any part in the government; a great number of those are dead of whom good use might formerly have been made; in a word, every thing is changed, and even the laws have received so many shocks since the Revolution, that unless they resume their former force, by the firmness of the Parliament, all the judgments that might be made on the form which the government may take in the sequel with respect to the laws, would be found as false as those which were made before the Revolution, in the belief that they could have the consequences which we have seen.

* This memorandum, written probably by the Abbé Renaudot, is as inaccurate as the paper of a similar kind which has been printed, vol. i. p. 228. As in the former case, it would be too long and tedious to point out how incorrect are many of its statements; but this piece is not without value: it shows upon what information the views which the ministers of Louis XIV. entertained about the political state of England were grounded.

With regard to the King, his personal qualities are known, and, after what he has done, we may judge what reliance may be placed upon his word, and on all the engagements which may be made with him. His chief characteristic is great distrust, so that very few persons, even among those who are in office, are acquainted with his secrets. The Secretaries of State whom he has had, if we except the Duke of Shrewsbury, have been only a hired kind of clerks, who had only the despatch of the current affairs in the offices, and no share whatever in his secrets, which are in the hands of his Dutch favourites.* The Earl of Sunderland had recovered

* "Your Grace knows how resolutely the King declined speaking of his business to any in his service, all the winter, and that, in such a manner, as if he was not unwilling it should be known. I am sure it was known, and that it was an occasion of encouraging opposition, so as to make the session some months longer than, in all probability, it otherwise would have been. He would in no sort declare himself before his leaving England, and, perhaps, upon a good reason, to see, first, which faction would have the majority in a new parliament. Whether the choice be such as that the same reason will oblige him to sit still longer, till he sees which party will prevail, upon the struggle, is not easy to determine. It is a nice question, in what temper the session will open. The choice was upon a very ill foot: the complaint of taxes and offices may mislead many well intentioned gentlemen. There is not at present a face of government; and every body seeing the little credit those have with the King, who are in employment, are naturally invited to endeavour to ruin or expose them. If we had our wishes, it were hard to find men of business. But, when the prejudices to some are considered, and fondness for others of a different party, it seems ridiculous to attempt things

his former credit more than a year ago, by the care which he took to connect himself with Lord Portland; and it is affirmed that he still retains it. Lord Ranelagh, Sir Stephen Fox, and some others whom it is easy to know, have much weight in financial affairs, where they have done much service. The Privy Council, and even the Cabinet Council, are, properly speaking, only for form's sake; and most of those who compose it are very mediocre, and till latterly, never filled any office which could give them more than very moderate experience in public business. They have seen the nation only in that fit of intoxication which has made it forget all the ancient maxims of liberty and propriety of which it was formerly so jealous; none have been in place in turbulent Parliaments, where the kings have suffered everything and risked all for all. Thus there is none who can be considered as a man who can be depended upon; since all the artifice with which the Parliaments have been led for these ten years, has been to corrupt the members by money or by lucrative employments, or to intimidate those who were not to be corrupted. Now, as the principal means was vague accusations of correspondence

manifestly impracticable. And the temper of our friends, added to all other considerations, makes one quite despair. Were not the difficulty equal, in finding a number of Tories, capable of uniting, I take it for granted, the Whigs would, long since, have been laid aside. But that my Lord Sunderland has not yet found, at least of such a party, as could join with him." —*Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* October 25. O. S. 1698.

with France, which now cease, and, as Parliament is always much more tractable when there is war with France, than at other times, if the new Parliament undertakes to contradict and to replace affairs on the ancient footing, it does not appear that the King can find, in his ministers, the support which he would need in such affairs. For, among the nobles who are at variance with the Court, who are neither in nor out of favour, we may reckon that the best heads and the persons who have most credit with the House of Lords and the House of Commons are to be found. We must not judge of what they can do, by what they have done, especially those who have retained some regard for their legitimate king, for it is certain that the divisions which have been continual in the party opposed to the Court have been the only cause. At present things are changed, and the hope of the restoration of King James being entirely lost, they have no longer occasion to be so circumspect, and they may speak and act more boldly for liberty and the maintenance of the laws than they formerly did.

If we may believe the report of persons who have lately come from England, and the information which we receive, the number of discontented noblemen is very great. The Court is no longer the same, and the King not having the familiar manners of the preceding sovereigns, very rarely showing himself, and that only to a small number, has not gained their affections. The greater number of those who have most contributed to the execution

of his designs have lost his good graces, and several are dead. The Duke of Leeds, the Earl of Peterborough, and several others, who declared pretty strongly against the Court party, in the affair of Sir John Fenwick, are able to form a pretty powerful party in Parliament, and this will certainly be done. Many still resent the harshness with which the pardon of Fenwick was refused, who was of a very ancient family, though not himself noble, and having married the daughter of the Earl of Carlisle, was allied to a great number of noblemen. There are also among them those whom the Earl of Rochester, is in some measure the head, who have always strongly supported the interests of the Anglican Church, and who have hitherto maintained it superior to the Presbyterians. These several general motives, added to private causes of discontent *, have divided the nobles into several factions, of which it will be necessary to be accurately informed on the spot, and have produced a kind of jealousy against the King and the House of Lords, which appeared on various occasions in the last Parliament and the preceding. It was this that obliged him, in order to maintain an equality of votes, and if possible gain the majority, to give the sons of noblemen seats in the House, and which has caused him to increase the number.

* "I believe your Grace has guessed the true reason why the Duke of Norfolk acts so indifferently: he has a grant of a pension; but it is not paid. I think they should either oblige him, or not invest him with power to resent a disobligation."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* September 3. O. S. 1698.

That means has long been considered odious, and often reckoned among the grievances of the nation.

The Lords have several similar ones, and when we reflect that in all reigns two or three ill-disposed individuals have sufficed to cause troubles in the Parliament and obliged the King to dissolve them, we may judge that the malcontents who remain are quite as capable of giving as much trouble, on occasion, to the new Parliament, as to any of its predecessors; and the more so, as it will be allowed that the Duke of Leeds, Lord Peterborough, and some others have no less talent and boldness than the principal actors of the preceding reigns.

We must not be misled by the common opinion that King William is adored by the English, that he is universally beloved, and that he is the master. The facility with which this has been believed has contributed more than any thing else to strengthen his usurpation. The nobles, generally speaking, do not like him, and have no esteem for him. The others are divided; for all those who are attached to the Anglican Church are strongly persuaded that he has desired to overthrow it, and still desires it, if he has the power. The Presbyterians do not form a party sufficiently powerful to support him in a time of turbulence; but all, in general, if we may judge of the future by the past, will begin to show him no more deference than they have already shown to their legitimate king, when they have so much need of the Parliament as he has at present, on account of his immense debts, which he cannot

pay, except by the continuation of very large subsidies.

It seems that it would promote the King's service that his ambassadors should have secret agents in Parliament, who should have no intercourse with him, except through third parties, but who should be able not only to give information of all the parties, but likewise in the coffee-houses and taverns which the members frequent, skilfully throw out such remarks as may serve to banish all notions that the King thinks or even has thought of oppressing their religion or their liberty, which may show them that they have been grossly deceived under the pretext of secret treaties relative to such designs; that no idea has ever been entertained of restoring King James, except in concert with the nation, and that when it has been seen that it took no part, the matter has not been carried any farther. It will likewise be good, adroitly to upset all the falsehoods which have been imposed on the people during the war, respecting the intended conspiracy. Lastly, to labour to put into practice every thing that may take from the nation the fear of any enterprise on the part of France, because this is the only motive which will always be employed to induce Parliament to give supplies for the maintenance of more troops than are necessary for the safety of England.

It seems important that his Majesty's ambassador shall conduct himself in such a manner, that without attaching himself too much to the Court, he may not render himself suspected by those who are not

devoted to it; nor to the Court, by having intercourse with the discontented and the Jacobites. The intercourse which he may have with the one or the other can be carried on only by third parties; but he must distrust the French refugees more than all other persons, and not suffer his servants to associate with them nor let them have too free access to his house. This can do no harm with respect to the English; all those who are attached to the Anglican Church do not like them, and the Jacobites detest them, as the first instruments of the betrayal of their legitimate sovereign.

The ambassador must take nearly the same precaution with regard to several Catholics, especially the monks, for most of them are more Austrians than Frenchmen. Those who have manifested some zeal for the King, as some English Benedictines, have done more harm than good by their imprudence. The others are devoted to the king of England, and have always served him well. Thus, with respect to the Catholics, reliance must be placed chiefly on those of the secular clergy, particularly Bishops Leyburn and Giffard, who are persons of virtue and merit, possessing the confidence of all honest men, and are not suspected by the Government. They know better than the others what is for the good of the Catholics; whereas the regulars consult always their own private interests. They may be able to propose the most suitable means of affording some relief to the Catholics, and by degrees restore things to the state in which

they were, so far as they are concerned, under the reign of Charles I.

It might also seem important that the ambassador should not take any monk with him, for it may be taken for granted that great inconveniences might arise from it; none having, in general any interest more dear than the affairs of his cloth. The experience of King James should be a great lesson on this point, for the secular clergy had as much, and more, to suffer under his reign than under that of Charles I.; and the final cause of his ruin was the confidence which he had in Father Peters, who delivered him up to Lord Sunderland.

Besides, as it cannot be doubted that the intention of his Majesty is to contribute, as far as in his power, to the promotion of religion, it is certain that the secular clergy will contribute much more to it than the regulars; that most of the latter having studied under the Spaniards, and having been educated by superiors who are devoted to them, are enemies to France; besides, that most of them are equally hated and despised by the Protestants.

With respect to the Anglican Church, it may be supposed that this Parliament will not close without several affairs being brought forward, which concern its interests. It is important to watch them closely, for they have always had important results in this country. The Presbyterians having a king of their own sect have become insolent; they believed at the beginning, that they might authoritatively oppress the Anglican Church; but they

have not been able to succeed. They have endeavoured to obtain their object by various plans of reunion, which have also been rejected. It is not amiss that these disputes exist, and they must not be considered as indifferent. The Duke of Leeds, the Earls of Rochester and Clarendon, and others, are the most zealous defenders of the Church, and have more credit in it than the bishops; who, for the most part, are Presbyterians at heart, and see nothing good in the Anglican Church but her dignities and her revenues. There is scarcely any one who deserves to be courted, and most of them have no very great credit. But among those who have been deposed for having declined to acknowledge the Prince of Orange, there are some of much merit; from whom good information might sometimes be received, and with whom it might be useful to make acquaintance through third persons. The principal of these is the Bishop of Bath and Wells.*

Though there is at present no appearance of a change favourable to the legitimate sovereign, it may however be supposed that he has still many faithful servants in the three kingdoms. It does not appear to be advantageous to the King's service at present, even to seem to be aware of this; but it is very important to know them by secret means, even though it were only in case of the death of the present king. But without waiting for this, whoever reflects on the frequent revolutions of England,

* Richard Kidder, Dean of Peterborough.

will agree that we ought always to be ready to take advantage of them, when it pleases God that they shall happen. If the Parliament refuses, as it has begun, to consent to the keeping up of a standing army, and if it persists in having the foreign troops dismissed, it will succeed in effecting this object, because it will refuse money, though it grants it for other purposes. If it continues, as it has already done in one article, to transfer the debts to the funds allotted for these purposes, it is the same as if it made no grants of money. He wishes to have some places fortified which he cannot accomplish if it does not give him the means. If the nation perceives, or is made to perceive, that it is sufficiently defended by the sea, and that it is a pretext to have an army ready, by drawing the garrisons from these fortified places, it will oppose it. If, then, the Parliament can reform the state and attack the ministers, especially the Dutch favourites, the King, with all his skill, will perhaps find himself greatly embarrassed, for the immense debts with which he is burthened, and obliged to summon Parliaments; and it is remarked that, in time of peace, when they see that a king has need of them, it is then that they carry their boldness to extremity.

INSTRUCTIONS OF COUNT TALLARD.

As to the intentions of his Majesty, respecting several articles of which he has had the honour to speak to him.

Versailles, December 17. 1698.

Though the treaty lately concluded between the King and the king of England, is the most evident proof of the confidence which his Majesty desires henceforth to place in that prince, it seems, nevertheless, by the report which Count Tallard has just made to his Majesty of the whole course of the negotiation, and, above all, of the temper in which he has left the king of England, that that prince still doubts of having so great a share in the confidence of his Majesty as Count Tallard has repeatedly assured him, by his Majesty's orders. The distrust which he manifests, and the complaints which he has made to Count Tallard, are principally founded on four points;

The first relates to the support which the King gives the princes of the Empire, who are opposed to the introduction of the duke of Hanover into the Electoral College;

The second subject of complaint and distrust is, the residence of King James at St. Germains;

The third point of which he complains, is his Majesty's refusal to grant to Sieur de la Forest, and to two other persons, permission to sell the estates which belonged to them in the kingdom, before they left it on account of the Protestant religion which they profess;

Lastly, the king of England having been persuaded that the peace of Ryswick left no ground to deny him the entire restitution of the revenues of the principality of Orange, which he had not enjoyed since the treaty of Nimeguen, that prince has signified to Count Tallard how much he was vexed at seeing his pretensions combatted by the answers which have been given to the ambassadors of Holland, and to M. Freyburg, who were appointed his commissioners for this purpose.

The King is willing to enter into detail on all these complaints, and to explain his intentions on every point. The view of his Majesty in treating with the king of England, and the States General, was to secure, even at the expense of his own advantages, the tranquillity of all Europe. The success of a design so great, and so useful to Christendom, depends on the maintenance of a perfectly good understanding between the King and the parties concerned in the treaty. Reciprocal confidence is absolutely necessary to maintain it. His Majesty, therefore, does not think it below him, again to explain to the king of England the facts respecting every article of his complaint.

To convince him of the sincerity of his intentions, he is ready to grant him the requests which his honour does not oblige him to refuse. He is willing to do, in consequence of his personal respect, in regard to some of the articles about which Count Tallard has spoken to him, what he would not do for any other than that prince. In short, he will not refuse to enter into concessions on some things which he might maintain by powerful reasons.

The subject of the second article has been so often exhausted, that it would be difficult to furnish Count Tallard with any new answers to be made to the king of England. What he has said himself to that prince, and what has been answered to the Earl of Portland, supplies all that can be said respecting the residence of King James at St. Germains. It seems, however, that this point is that which the king of England has most at heart; that the marks which he has lately received of the confidence of his Majesty, do not relieve him from the alarm which he affects to feel, or which he really does feel, at the residence of that prince at St. Germains; but in a word, the honour of his Majesty is pledged not to refuse an asylum to a king who has come to seek it, and has hitherto found it, with his Majesty; and it is impossible for him to give to the king of England, on this point, the satisfaction which he has asked so many times in vain.

The treaty which his Majesty has just concluded with that prince, should convince him, above all things, of the interest which he will henceforward take in his safety. But the treaty itself is a new reason for him not to consent, on this point, to the desire of the king of England. If the King could overcome all the just reasons which restrain him from taking the resolution to remove King James from St. Germains, his honour would require him not to do so immediately after the conclusion of the treaty. People would not fail to say, and there would be reason to believe, that this removal

is a secret condition of the treaty. It would be added that, an article which the King refused when the general peace of all Europe was at stake, has been since granted, when the only question was to profit by the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy. These reports would be, in truth, without foundation; but the king of England cannot desire the friendship of his Majesty, and at the same time urge him to an act so contrary to the immortal reputation which he has acquired, and what the whole world knows of his exalted sentiments. He is persuaded that Count Tallard will duly impress it on that prince; for, in short, there is no reason to doubt that he will again speak on the subject to the King's ambassador, when he shall have returned to his Court.

But as it seems to Count Tallard that that prince will remain silent, and will be content for some time, if it appears that his Majesty was willing to enter into some engagement, such for instance, as to intimate that his honour does not permit him to remove King James from St. Germains, but that if he should ask him to withdraw of his own accord he would not hinder him: he is willing that Count Tallard should speak to him precisely in these terms, without adding anything further.

His Majesty has likewise approved another opinion of Count Tallard, but it is not yet time to make use of it. It must first be seen what effect will be produced by what his Majesty permits him to say to the king of England. If, after an interval of three or four months, that prince should

again speak to him on the same subject, he may then propose what he has premeditated to do in favour of the Prince of Wales.*

The success of this design does not appear to be impossible, and the Catholic religion, in which the Prince of Wales is brought up, is a reason which renders it more practicable. The English, who are naturally fickle, little esteemed by the king of England, and discontented with his government, will become more weary of it in the sequel. If they should proceed to some revolution, the whole nation will easily concur in raising the Duke of Gloucester to the throne; who is brought up among them, in the religion of the country, and considered at present as the legitimate heir. It is therefore for the interest of the king of England to hinder his being considered in that light, to oppose to him, for that purpose, a prince whose right is, without dispute, the most legitimate; but, at the same time that he will appear to do an act of justice in favour of the legitimate heir, he will be securing his own peace and safety. By keeping him in Holland he will be the master, and that prince will not be able to take a step without the

* It would appear from these words, and from passages of the following letters, that Count Tallard had devised a plan which would have conciliated all parties in England. It consisted in the adoption by William III. of the son of King James as his heir, to the prejudice of the claims of the Princess Anne's son. This project, as it will be seen, was never discussed with King William, and was not even communicated to the court of St. Germains.

king of England being informed of it. By continuing to have him educated in the Catholic religion, and securing to him, by acts of the English Parliament, the free exercise of it, if he should come to the crown, he will make the English desire the duration of his reign, and will certainly prevent them from inviting, to his prejudice, a Catholic prince. Thus, there is every reason for his Majesty to believe, that it may perhaps not be so difficult for the Count Tallard to succeed in this project, as it appears at first sight. There is also reason to believe, that if things were so advanced that they could be opened to the king, his father, and the proposal made to him, as a necessary stipulation, to retire to some town in France, more remote from communication with England, this prince would decide upon doing so, to secure to the Prince of Wales the kingdom of England, with liberty to exercise the Catholic religion.

It would give the King much pleasure if Count Tallard would conduct this negotiation as happily as that which he has just completed to the entire satisfaction of his Majesty; but he repeats to him, that he is not to undertake it till he shall see the king of England ready to renew the same demand which the King has so often refused, and to which he can pay no attention, unless some reason, as advantageous as that of the views of Count Tallard for the Prince of Wales, should oblige him to it.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December 6—16. 1698.

I arrived here on Sunday evening in good health. I took two days and two nights to make the passage, because there was little wind, and that little was against us. But the weather was fine, and our voyage passed off pleasantly.

The Parliament meets to-day for the first time; and the House of Commons has appointed as Speaker, sir Thomas Littleton, who is a man of perfect honour, and consequently all is right. * I think of

* Sir Thomas Littleton, the youngest son of a poor baronet, was designed for trade, and accordingly bound apprentice to a merchant of London, with whom he continued till his elder brother's death. On this event occurring, his father immediately removed him, and gave him a liberal education at Oxford. In the House of Commons, his talents introduced Sir T. Littleton to notice. Through the favour of Lord Arlington he was put into the navy in 1668. Being ousted in 1675, he took his place in the ranks of opposition. In 1681 he became a commissioner of the Admiralty, but continued to draw his pension of 500*l.* a-year from Barillon, and to preserve a good understanding with the Prince of Orange. Being soon removed from office, Sir T. Littleton took a great part in the debates on the Exclusion Bill. Burnet, his friend, says of him: "He was the ablest and vehementest arguer of them all. He commonly lay quiet till the end of a debate, and he often ended it, speaking with a strain of conviction and authority that was not easily resisted. . . . . He was a wise and worthy man, had studied much modern history, and the present state and interests of Europe." After the Revolution, Sir T. Littleton became a strenuous advocate for all measures that could gratify the court, and a thorough partisan; he declared this to be the secret of his policy: "I, for my part, have

delivering my speech on Friday. I have put it off on purpose till then. It is impossible to foresee

a way how to guide my vote always in the House, which is to vote contrary to what our enemies without doors wish." On the recommendation of the Duke of Shrewsbury, who wrote of him, in 1695, to the King — "The manner of his service in the House does more directly entitle him to ask a place in the treasury, than any other man that I know," he was re-appointed commissioner of the Admiralty. On the other hand, the opposition, if we take for proof a pamphlet published at the time, denounced his character as "that of a known profligate in the service of the court, who had no other characteristics than confidence and dexterity."

"The King asking me how it stood as to the Speaker, I gave him the best account of it I could, both as to the prospect there was of Sir Thomas Littleton's carrying it, and how the other party were divided whom they should chose; and I added what I thought proper concerning Sir Thomas Littleton's fitness for the place, and his deference to his Majesty's pleasure. I found the King very inclinable to him. "His Majesty came to the House of Lords to-day, and the Commons, being sent for, were directed to choose a Speaker. My Lord Hartington first moved and proposed Sir Thomas Littleton, which was seconded by my Lord Spencer and others. Sir John Rolles began the opposition, who said Sir Thomas was an able and an honest man, but he excepted against one in that station for reasons given in the printed considerations, which was urged more virulently by Mr. Beyerly, with reflections on the treasury, who was answered by Mr. Pelham. Lord Norris and Mr. Hammond carried on the debate, and were answered by Mr. Montague, Mr. Smith, &c.; but the naming any competitor was along avoided, and yet they would not suffer Sir Thomas Littleton to be brought to the chair, without a question which others said was unusual and unnecessary, unless any other person was proposed; but Sir Edward Seymour, interposing that there was no other way of deciding there but by a question, Sir Richard Onslow, who was for Sir

what will be the upshot of this session; but notwithstanding the short time I have lived here I clearly perceive that my greatest difficulty will be in retaining the troops. They have a strange prejudice on this point, which I do not see the means of overcoming.*

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, 9—19 December, 1698.

I went to-day to Parliament, to give my assent to the Speaker, and to deliver my speech, of

Thomas, came into it, and the question was put very much to Sir Thomas's advantage. He carried it by a majority of 107. The division was of 242 against 135. Then he adjourned the House to Friday." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* December 6. O. S. 1698.

* "When the King went to Holland, he left some sealed orders behind him, of which some of his ministers told me, they knew not the contents till they were opened: by these the King ordered 16,000 men to be kept up. For excusing this, it was said, that though the Parliament had in their votes mentioned only 10,000 land men, to whom they had afterwards added 3,000 marines, and had raised only the money necessary for that number, yet no determined number was mentioned in the act itself; so, since the apprehension of the king of Spain's death made it advisable to have a greater force ready for such an accident, the King resolved to keep up a force somewhat beyond that which the House of Commons had consented to. . . . The King's keeping up an army beyond the votes of the former Parliament was much resented."—*Burnet's History of his own Time.*

which a copy shall be sent you. * Nothing can yet be said of the result of the session; but I have every reason to be afraid as far as the troops are concerned.

* "My Lords and Gentlemen,—I have no doubt but you are met together with hearts fully disposed to do what is necessary for the safety, honour, and happiness of the kingdom; and that is all I ask of you. In order to this, two things principally seem to require your consideration. The one is: What strength ought to be maintained at sea, and what force kept up at land for this year? All that I shall observe to you on this head, is, that the flourishing of trade, the supporting of credit, and the quiet of the people's minds at home, will depend upon the opinion they have of their security. And, to preserve to England the weight and influence it has at present on the councils and affairs abroad, it will be requisite Europe should see, you will not be wanting to yourselves. The second thing I shall mention to you, as of great consequence, is the making some farther progress towards a discharging the debts which the nation has contracted by reason of the long and expensive war. In this the public interest, as well as justice, is concerned; and I think an English parliament can never make such a mistake, as not to hold sacred all parliamentary engagements.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons, — I do earnestly recommend these things to you, that you may provide such supplies, as you shall judge necessary for these several occasions.

"My Lords and Gentlemen, — I think it would be happy, if some effectual expedient could be found for employing the poor, which might tend to the great increase of our manufactures, as well as remove a very heavy burden from the people. I hope also you will employ your thoughts about some good bills for the advancement of trade, and for the future discouragement of vice and profaneness. — The things I have mentioned to you being of common concern, I cannot but hope for unanimity and dispatch."

"Your Grace will see by the enclosed Speech of his Ma-

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, 13—23 December, 1698.

It cannot but be very annoying to you to be so pressed by the ambassadors of the Emperor to find out what is the state of our negotiations with France. The reply you gave them is excellent.

It would be a bad business if Brissac were to be sold to France. Nothing must be spared to prevent it. The best means, in my opinion, would be to rouse the princes of Germany, who are so deeply interested in the matter, to oppose it with all their might. I beg you will exert yourself in this business.

I think you will do well to forward the negotia-

jesty how the sessions opened yesterday. Sir Thomas Littleton was likewise approved. He executed himself pretty laboriously, and is rather thought to have overdone it; and he accepted a little flatteringly, saying, 'As the King had done many impossibilities, he might do another, in enabling him to discharge the place;' and added a Latin verse, which I think is of his own making.

'Non habeo ingenium, Cæsar cum jussit, habebo.'

My Lord Chancellor made him a neat and pertinent compliment in giving the reasons his Majesty had for approving him. The King's Speech is very well liked. My Lord Chancellor has drawn it so as to satisfy the King, and has given no handle for cavilling. It is left to the Parliament to consider what land force they will keep up, and all is laid before them that may induce a compliance with the King's desires; but I am afraid there is no great disposition in the House to allow of more than 10,000 men, if they can now be brought to it." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* December 10. O. S. 1698.

tion with Lillieroot as much as possible; the more so, that I have received from Sweden the intimation that d'Avaux is trying to consolidate the alliance that has been struck*, and that they are waiting to see the result of the negotiation with Lillieroot.

P.S. The business relative to the troops is in a very bad way. I have every reason to expect that in a few days I shall see a very unsatisfactory vote passed on the subject in the House of Commons; an event which annoys me greatly.†

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December 14—24. 1698.

Matters are here very uncertain on the subject of keeping up a considerable number of troops. It is not possible at present to determine what will be the result; but I must tell you in confidence that I am much afraid Parliament will not give its consent; for as for me, I cannot endure that the greatest portion of the army should be disbanded,

* Louis XIV. had concluded an alliance with the king of Sweden, on the 9th of July.

† "I wish the King were as much at ease as your Grace. He has his heart set upon keeping up the present force, and there seems to be an irresistible current against it, enough to bear down all foreign troops, as well the Dutch as French."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury:* December 13. O. S. 1698.

and members of Parliament have taken up on this subject some inconceivable notions.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December 16—26. 1698.

I have difficulty in believing the truth of what Quiros has told you, that in Spain there is a perfect knowledge of the details of the treaty I have concluded with France. * The Earl of Portland will inform you by to-day's courier of the dispatches I have received from the Earl of Jersey. I believe Count Tallard will be here in a few days. I am very curious to know of what he will be the bearer, although I have some apprehension of it when I consider what is every where the state of matters. †

* "The people here are very jealous of what you have transacted in Holland, and their ambassador, Quiros, pretends to have penetrated the secret, assuring them it is a repartition of their monarchy agreed between our King and the French. This they are very angry at, saying they will rather deliver themselves up to the French, or the devil, so they may go all together, rather than be dismembered."—*Alexander Stanhope to the Earl of Jersey.* Madrid, January 15. 1699.

† "It was impossible for the treaty of partition to be kept so long a secret, as had been stipulated at the signing of it. So many nations were interested in a convention of that kind, and such a number of negotiations had been employed in the forming of it, that it could not be long concealed. The first account of its being concluded reached Madrid by the way of Holland. At the receipt of this news the king of Spain summoning the whole ministry, held a council extraordinary which lasted three

I am very glad that Holland has agreed to the war-budget. I should like if matters here went on equally well in Parliament; but the proceedings in the House of Commons to-day, (of which you shall be informed) annoy me to such a degree that I cannot at present tell you any more about them.*

hours: the result was his making a will, by which he instituted the electoral prince of Bavaria his universal heir. When the Elector received the news, Count Tallard was then at Brussels in his way to Paris, to make a report to the King of the negotiation lately brought to a conclusion with the king of England. He had an interview with the elector, who in confidence acquainted him with the settlement which the king of Spain had lately made in favour of the electoral prince. Yet his Highness begged of him to assure the King that he would sign whatever act his Majesty thought necessary, for his engaging to execute the treaty of partition, notwithstanding the late testamentary disposition made by his Catholic Majesty." — *Memoirs of Torcy.*

* "I have letters to-day from Mr. Stanhope, about the king of Spain's having declared the electoral prince of Bavaria his successor, and his Queen to be regent during his minority. I know not whether this will be an argument to-morrow for keeping up our number of troops, but it will be necessary to find some good topics to induce that persuasion, which the Commons are at a great distance from, as appeared by yesterday's debate, when they stopped the motion for a supply, till they had been in a committee to consider of the army both in England and Ireland; and, that nothing might stop them in it, the two paymasters were ordered to lay before them a list of the forces in both kingdoms. They seem to be in a retrenching humour. One side shows violence, and the other side do not care to lose their credit in the House of Commons by a further opposition. Whether the King's expectations will be answered, is not to be seen at present." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* December 15. O. S. 1698.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, December 29. 1698.

I arrived here on Saturday evening, and went on Sunday to Kensington.* I had the honour to pay my respects to the king of England when he returned from chapel. I presented him with your Majesty's compliments, and then accompanied him to dinner, where I remained. It is impossible to be better received, or treated with more distinction than I was. When he was ready to rise from table, I whispered to him and said, that I had to speak to him on many points, and that I begged him to tell me when he would be pleased to give me an audience. He replied, that I might be with him this morning at 11 o'clock. I have just returned, and will have the honour to give an account to your Majesty of what passed at this audience.

As soon as I was in his cabinet, I told him that there was one thing of which he had spoken to me, as a private individual, when I left him, and that I now laid aside the character of ambassador for a

* "Count Tallard arrived here on Saturday night: he came post from Dover. He saw the King on Sunday, and yesterday had a private audience. I have exchanged two or three words with him. He is pretty grave upon the business of Spain, and seems only concerned that it makes no alteration in the business agreed on. There is no doubt they look very jealously on the event, and suspect the King was privy to it. He says they knew some time since the queen of Spain was negotiating this matter." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* December 20. O. S. 1698.

moment, in order to let him know the steps which I had taken, in consequence of what he had said; that I had taken the liberty to confide to your Majesty what he had said to me respecting King James; that you had answered me that, without recapitulating the reasons which had been so many times reiterated and repeated, you would content yourself with letting me know that you still believed your honour pledged to leave the king of England, who has retired to St. Germains, at liberty to remain there as long as he should think proper; that you would never change your opinion on that point; but that if he should have a mind to withdraw to some other place you would not oppose it. He answered, "But he will never have a mind, unless he is made to entertain it." I replied, "as the master cannot be catechised, I cannot tell you anything further." He said no more, and the subject was broken off. The subject matter of the king of England's residence at St. Germains, seems to me to be laid aside for some time.

The House of Commons has acted as in a fury. *

* "The House of Commons have made quick work with the forces. They resolved yesterday in the committee that the army in England should be reduced to 7000, officers and servants included, which was agreed to-day, and a bill is to be brought in accordingly, by Mr. Harley, who made the motion. They have done better this day with Ireland, where they have allowed there a number not exceeding 12,000. They have taken care there shall be few foreigners in either kingdom, and in England there are not to be so much as Scots in the regiments. The Committee yesterday would in all probability have come up to 10,000 men for England, if any had had authority to propose it, and that the managers had come warmly

It hastily determined to cashier the army; not to allow any foreigner in the three kingdoms; and permits only 7000 men in England including the officers, all native English; 12,000 in Ireland, either Irish or Scotch, and 6000 in Scotland. They have not yet been willing to speak of any subsidy. This affair passed in such a fury that no person of the Court party could be listened to. The oldest persons habituated to the proceedings of Parliament are persuaded that there is no remedy. As for me, I can scarcely believe that the king of England will consent, and I am persuaded that he would rather resolve to prorogue or to dissolve the Parliament if he does not find other expedients, by sending the foreigners to Holland instead of the five Scotch battalions which are there, and which he would withdraw.

COUNT TALLARD TO THE MARQUIS DE TORCY.

London, December 29. 1698. (11 o'clock in the evening.)

I have just learnt that the House of Commons is still sitting on a very singular affair. Mr.

into it; but it now was as the last year that His Majesty would not declare himself on that point, thinking less than the present number insufficient. Others likewise were in the reserve, and though Sir Charles Sedley mentioned 10,000, it was but faintly seconded; and there being no prospect what number would be fixed on if the 7000 was rejected, people came into it without a division. If after all this the Whigs be under a disreputation as supporters of any army, they are very unfortunate, since at Court they are blamed for giving it up. The King is very uneasy at yesterday's resolution, and thinks it ruinous."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* December 17. O.S. 1698.

Vernon and Mr. Montague were candidates to represent the city of Westminster. A Mr. Henry Colt, justice of peace, was representative last year. He had a pretty strong party for the purpose of being so this year, and had a long contest with the two candidates whom I have just mentioned, though one of them is Secretary of State, and the other holds the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. As soon as Parliament met, he presented a petition to the House of Commons, in which he represented that the election of Mr Montague was invalid, that the voters had been constrained by the Grenadiers and by the life-guards, and that but for this violence the choice of the people would have fallen upon him. The petition has been examined today, and hence the enemies of Mr. Montague proceeded to say that, having been Regent of the kingdom, he could not be chosen member of the House of Commons; the election having taken place while he exercised the functions of the former office.* As the case has never before occurred, and as they cannot have recourse to their laws or their customs, the two parties have been disputing fu-

* "On the 24th of December, 1698, a petition is presented from Sir Henry Colt, objecting to Mr. Montagu's election for Westminster, as incapable of being chosen to serve as a Member in Parliament: on the report, on the 22d of December, this objection is explained to be, "That he was one of the Lords Justices, and had signed a proclamation for proroguing the Parliament." But the Committee and House, having considered this objection, are both of opinion "that Mr. Montagu was duly elected."— *Hatsell's Precedents and Proceedings in the House of Commons.*

riously for ten hours. It is so late that I give up the hope of letting you know to-day which of the two will prevail.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December 20—30. 1698.

Since my last I have learned with pleasure, that every thing has gone off so well in the Assembly of Holland. The Earl of Portland will inform you of what Count Tallard brings with him, to which I refer you.

I am so chagrined at what passes in the Lower House with regard to the troops, that I can scarce turn my thoughts to any other matter. I foresee that I shall be obliged to come to resolutions of extremity, and that I shall see you in Holland sooner than I had thought.* It is impossible for me to

* "This vote," says Burnet, "gave the king great uneasiness: he seemed not only to lay it much to heart, but to sink under it: he tried all that was possible to struggle against it when it was too late. It was surmised that he was resolved not to pass the bill, but that he would abandon the government rather than hold it with a force that was too small to preserve and protect it: yet this was considered only as a threatening; so that little regard was had to it." Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that King William really, and for a long while, as it will be seen, entertained the project of withdrawing from England. The fact is proved beyond all dispute by the following passage of a letter from Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury (December 29. O. S. 1698): — "I have not acquainted you with his (the king's) resolution sooner, because I thought it could not be taken in good earnest. But I have had this morning such a confirmation of it, that I cannot think it

enter into particulars at present; and affairs are so changeable here, that one can rely with certainty upon nothing, till it is done.

possible to have it carried on so far, if it be meant but as an appearance only, and to provoke us to exert ourselves. His resolution is, when the next Wednesday's business is over, to come to the Parliament, and tell them that he came over to rescue the nation from the ruin impending over them, in which he succeeded, and had brought them to the end of a dangerous war without any great misfortune; that now they had peace, and might provide for their own safety; that he saw they were entertaining distrusts and jealousies of him, so as not to do what was necessary for themselves; that he was, therefore, determined to leave England; but, before he went, would consent to any law they should offer for appointing commissioners of both Houses to administer the government, and then they would not be jealous of themselves. When he first mentioned this to me, I treated the notion as the most extravagant and absurd that ever was entertained, and begged him to speak of it to nobody, for his own honour. He heard me patiently talk against it for two hours, but concluded at last as of a notion he still retained. He has spoken of it to my lord Marlborough (which one would wonder at, almost as much as at the thing itself), Mr. Montague, and to my lord Orford, and, I believe, to divers others. The last time I saw him he would not suffer me to argue with him, telling me plainly, he saw we should never agree, and he was resolved. I told him, I hoped he would take the seal from me before he did it; that I had it from him when he was king, and desired he would receive it from me while he was so. When this was told him he was very much dissatisfied, and said he could not say a thing, which was but to deceive us; that he would leave all to Providence, having taken his resolution, and would go to Windsor and stay till Saturday." It may be supposed that this manly remonstrance of lord Somers induced the King to forego his foolish resolution. The speech which he proposed to deliver on this occasion is preserved in his own handwriting in the British Museum, and has been

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, January 1. 1699.

I shall only have the honour to-day to speak to your Majesty of what is passing in the Parliament of England. Matters are there carried so

printed by Sir Henry Ellis. Its authenticity cannot be questioned. It is as follows: —

"My Lords and Gentlemen, —— Je suis venu ici dans ce royaume au désir de cette nation pour la sauver de ruine, et pour préserver votre religion, vos lois et libertés, et pour ce sujet j'ai été obligé de soutenir une longue et très onéreuse guerre pour ce royaume, laquelle par la grâce de Dieu et la bravoure de cette nation est à présent terminée par une bonne paix, dans laquelle vous pourriez vivre heureusement et en repos, si vous vouliez contribuer à votre propre sûreté, ainsi que je vous l'avais recommandé à l'ouverture de cette session ; mais voyant au contraire que vous avez si peu de garde à mes avis, et que vous ne prenez aucun soin de votre sûreté, et vous exposez à une ruine évidente, vous destituant des seuls et uniques moyens qui pourraient servir à votre sûreté, il ne serait pas juste ou raisonnable que je fusse témoin de votre perte, ne pouvant rien faire de mon côté pour l'éviter, étant hors d'état de vous défendre et protéger, ce qui a été la seule vue que j'ai eue en venant en ce pays, ainsi je dois vous requérir de choisir et me nommer telles personnes, que vous jugerez capables, auxquelles je puisse laisser l'administration du gouvernement en mon absence, vous assurant que quoique je sois forcé à présent de me retirer hors du royaume, je conserverai toujours la même inclination pour son avantage et prospérité ; et que quand je pourrai juger que ma présence y serait nécessaire pour votre défense, et que je jugerai la pouvoir entreprendre avec succés, je serai porté à y revenir et hasarder ma vie pour votre sûreté, comme je l'ai fait par le passé : priant le bon Dieu de bénir vos délibérations, et de vous inspirer ce qui est nécessaire pour le bien et la sûreté du royaume."

far, that I really cannot tell what will be the end of it.

The House of Commons approved (the day before yesterday) the resolution which it had previously taken, not to allow more than 7000 troops in England, including the officers. All parties joined in agreeing to this resolution. By a second resolution it was determined to admit none but natural-born Englishmen; the Scotch, and even the Irish, are excluded. M. de Schomberg, though duke and peer of England *, can no longer have the command of the army; he who had been accustomed to command the troops during the King's absence; and no French refugee, and no foreigner, can hold even a lieutenancy.

In Ireland there can be no troops but Irish and Scotch. Lord Galway ceases, therefore, to command the army in the country, though he may remain Regent. All the regiments of French refugees are cashiered; and the regiment of the blue guards and the cavalry regiment of Portland, must recross the sea, if the bill is put in force. The House of

* Meinhardt Schomberg, was the eldest son of the German Count, and Marshall of France, Frederick Schomberg, who, after having served successively in Holland, in France, in Portugal, and in his native country, came to England at the Revolution, and was created by William III. Duke of Schomberg, Marquis of Harwich, Earl of Brentford, Baron of Tays, and knight of the Garter: he fell in Ireland at the battle of the Boyne. Meinhardt, for his gallant conduct on the same day, was created Duke of Leinster, the title of Duke of Schomberg being limited to his younger brother; but upon the death of the latter in 1693, he succeeded to this title, which he bore till his death in 1719, as in fact more illustrious than his own.

Commons pushes this with so much rigour, that the only exception which it has hitherto made to what I have had the honour to state to your Majesty, is in favour of the Duke of Ormond, who, though born in Ireland, may remain Captain of a company of Guards in England; and, of Lord Romney, who, though born in France, may remain Master General of the Ordnance.

The House of Commons has not yet sent an address to the King, according to the usual custom, to thank him for his speech; but the House of Lords, which was not accustomed to present one, has resolved to thank him. The affair was taken into consideration on the motion of Lord Normanby, who was not in the House on the day that was appointed for it. The Duke of Shrewsbury has resigned the office of Secretary of State, and the King has at length accepted his resignation, which he had hitherto refused.* The Earl of Sunderland passes the winter in the country. †

* On the arrival of the King from the continent, the Duke of Shrewsbury again renewed his solicitations to be allowed to retire from the nominal office of Secretary of State, but the King persisted in refusing to permit his resignation, unless he would accept the vacant post of Chamberlain. At length, on the 12th of December (O. S.), King William gave way. No successor to Shrewsbury was appointed.

† "If you had been able to have continued, and that five or six could have trusted one another, in their common interest, which one would think not impossible, many things might have been offered, in such cases, as well as in others, to have carried on the public business, and to have made people that are

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

January 2. 1699.

I cannot express to your Majesty with what fury the House of Commons urges the reduction of the troops. This is not an affair conducted merely by those who are opposed to the Court: the whole nation concurs in it. This has been brewing the whole summer: all the great men are agreed. In short, it is a kind of general conspiracy on this point.* Even the ministers have abandoned the King, and England will have no more than 7000 troops—all native English; no naturalized person can be admitted. Ireland 12,000, natives or Scotch; and Scotland 5 or 6000, officers included. This number of troops is nearly the same, within two or three thousand, as are now

engaged in it, easier than I have ever seen them. But you are gone, and, I am sure that unless that changes, I will think of nothing but despatching my own private affairs as soon as is possible, and fix here, where, if I can be quiet, I shall envy no man." — *The Earl of Sunderland to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* Althorp, November 25. O. S. 1698.

* "I believe the generality of the nation, and the Parliament agree in what your Grace mentions concerning the army. I wish it were as well understood and liked at Kensington; but there it is considered how unsafe we shall be without a great force, and others argue as if the greatest danger arises from thence. While this controversy lasts, the ministers and managers have no very good time of it, who are represented in the country as the supporters of an army, and perhaps are looked on at Court, as having very much contributed to reduce it even below what was necessary." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* December 24. O. S. 1698.

on foot; but, it is extremely different to have them in Ireland or in Scotland, or in the environs of London; and still more different not to have any foreigner; for how can the King now trust the native English, whom he has so much despised? The Duke of Schomberg commanded the troops during his absence in this kingdom; Lord Galway in Ireland. Having so much confidence in them, he believed that he could safely leave the kingdom; but could he venture at this time to go to Holland, when no one will remain in this country on whom he can depend? Intrigues are carrying on at present, to get the House of Lords, whose concurrence is necessary, to make exceptions to the resolutions of the House of Commons; but the most clear-sighted do not believe that it will make any considerable changes.

The House of Commons has offered no address to the King, either to assure him of its fidelity, or to thank him for his government, as was the custom: in fine, Sire, it is long since there has been an affair of this nature.

It is said that Lord Jersey will be appointed Secretary of State, in the room of the Duke of Shrewsbury, and that Lord Manchester will be named ambassador to France.

P. S.—Since writing my letter I have learnt that the bill for the reduction of the troops has been read, a second time, in the House of Commons; and that, instead of the words "subjects born in England," the expression "subjects of England" has

been substituted, by which Irishmen are qualified to be among the troops.*

The House has adjourned to-day till Monday se'nnight, and has referred the bill to be examined in committee on Wednesday week, after which it will be read for the third time.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, January 12. 1699.

The commerce between France and England, in the manner in which it is at present carried on, is so disadvantageous to the subjects of your Majesty, that I venture to take the liberty to represent to you that it will be for the good of your service to take some steps in the matter.

The English, whose principal object it is to prevent any foreign goods, and especially those of

* "The bill was read a second time yesterday; but before the vote passed for committing it, Mr. Montague spoke against the frame of the bill, that did not only disband the army, but the militia too; that in case of invasion from abroad or disturbance at home, every body was tied up from giving any assistance to the public, and that they declared the army disbanded by a blank day, before any provision was made for paying them. Mr. Harley answered him; and though he would not allow the objections to have much weight, yet he said whatever was in the bill might be altered in the committee, except the number of men which the House had fixed to 7000. Some thought that as fit to be recommended as any other part of the bill; but the debate fell, it being intended to revise it when the House is going into that committee." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* December 24. O. S. 1698.

France, from entering their country, and who believe that, during the reign of their preceding kings, our fashions caused very considerable sums to depart from their country, have taken advantage of the war to impose duties, which, properly speaking, may be called prohibitory, on our wines, on our brandy, on our looking-glasses, on our silks and other manufactures, and on our gold and silver lace; in a word, on all things coming from France of which there was a great consumption in this country. There are some articles on which they have even gone further, for they are absolutely prohibited; such are lutestring, for which there was an incredible demand in England, and many others, which it would be too long to detail in this letter. These same duties still subsist, and the consumption of the articles on which they are laid is thereby reduced to almost nothing.

On the other hand, I cannot express to your Majesty the infinite number of horses which are bought in this country for France, the quantity of mohair, ribbons, lace, cider, beer, glass bottles, Spanish wine, cloth, lead, tin, which are exported to our country; so that, Sire, unless your Majesty increases the import duties on these articles, so far as to make people lose the inclination to have them, and unless the utmost vigilance and attention are used to prevent their being smuggled into France, and if the English, on their part, keep things on their present footing, your Majesty may depend upon it that, merely in a commercial point of view, the French would have a great disadvantage, and

much money would leave the kingdom, if the great number of English who visit Paris, and the money which they spend there, did not, in some degree, remedy this evil.

As the king of England can do nothing in this matter, when the Parliament is not sitting, I have thought it my duty to take the liberty to call your Majesty's attention, in time, to what I have had the honour to say to you; in order that, if you think proper to enter into a treaty of commerce, you may do so during this session, or that you may have the goodness to examine, in case you do not think fit to make a treaty, whether it would not be conducive to your interests to lay a sufficiently high duty on the goods I have mentioned, to remedy the inequality which exists, in admitting those of the English, when they will not admit ours.

I will add that the most skilful merchants, whom I have consulted, calculate that the balance of what has been done, by bills of exchange, since the peace, is nearly equal on both sides. But those who have had purchases to make have brought or transmitted considerable sums in old Louis d'ors, which are immediately sent to the Tower and converted into guineas.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, January 3—13. 1699.

The proceedings here are of no moment at all. We shall learn more to-morrow. With regard to the deliberations of the House of Commons on the subject of disbanding the troops, we can expect nothing worth while.*

* "I should tell your Grace that, upon a meeting with Mr. Secretary (Vernon), Lord Coningsby, and divers others of the House of Commons, we all agreed in an opinion, that this business of the army could not be carried higher than 10,000, and that with the utmost difficulty, and not unless the country gentlemen would enter into the debate, which they would never do unless it might be said to them that it would be an acceptable service to the King, and that he would make the best of that number." — *Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, December 29. O. S. 1698.

"The King is dissatisfied to the highest degree; and with this number of troops he thinks the nation exposed to inevitable ruin. He blames the ministers for their easy giving way to it, and is not like to approve of 10,000 more than 7000." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, December 29. O. S. 1698.

"People's pulses have been felt as to increasing the number of the forces as far as 10,000 men; but there does not appear any hopes of carrying it. There are more that show a tenderness towards the Dutch guards, and think it a hardship to deprive the King of them. At present we are under a great perplexity. Those that are convinced in their judgments that a greater force is necessary, are apprehensive of the ill consequences if such a question be carried against them upon a division, which fixes people in party, so that no good is to be expected during the rest of the sessions. If it be not attempted, the King will be disobliged, and may be told, if there were not

As this is the first letter I send you this new year, I wish you all enjoyment throughout the same, and that during many others all success and happiness may attend you, and that I may find an opportunity of proving to you that I am always and shall ever remain your good friend.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, January 14. 1699.

I had the honour to state to your Majesty, in my last letters, that the affair relative to the reduction of the troops had been adjourned to Wednesday, which is to-day. During the holidays the Court has made its last efforts to overturn the resolutions which had been taken by the House of Commons; and the proposal of the King was, before suffering the matter to be examined in the general committee, to cause a resolution to be passed to grant 10,000 men instead of 7000. This was proposed at noon; but the negative prevailed. The members persisted in granting only 7000 men. This question therefore is irrevocably decided, and cannot be further examined. The House forms itself into a committee to-morrow for the other matters; but what has passed to-day gives no reason for believing that it will make any change in favour

more troops it was because nobody pressed it. This dilemma is a little staggering." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, December 31. O. S. 1698.

of foreigners in the bill, which has already been read twice.

It is even thought that Lord Galway will be personally attacked. He thought fit to speak in a rather high tone in the Irish Parliament, and in return the latter takes the affirmative. The whole nation declares against him, and people begin to believe, not only that he will no longer command the army in Ireland, but even that he will not remain Lord Justice. Lord Orford, who is treasurer of the navy, has also been attacked indirectly, for an account is required of the money which has been granted for the fleet since 1688, and of the prizes which have been made. All this has been commenced with great vigour.

It is said that Lord Godolphin will be made Secretary of State.* If such be the case, there will be a total change in the government.

* "There went a report yesterday all over the House of Commons, that my Lord Godolphin was made Secretary, which the Whig party seemed mightily alarmed at. I am sure I have not elsewhere heard any thing of it, and though I do not particularly know my Lord Godolphin, yet I much question whether he be of a humour to accept it, especially as our present circumstances are. If we could prevail with one another to have a little more complaisance for the King, we should have less to apprehend of this kind; but he is so convinced of the necessity of having a better force than 7000, and thinks it so great a hardship to be stripped of his guards, that he expects those who would serve the public, or gratify him, should exert themselves strenuously in these points; and he thinks the nation so much undone without a greater number, that all other services would be to no purpose."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* January 3. O. S. 1699.

What I learn of the Parliament induces me to believe that the House of Commons will not relax in favour of foreigners; the Court party not having ventured to speak yesterday.

January 15.

The Parliament has made a considerable change yesterday in the bill for the reduction of the army. Instead of voting that none but subjects of England shall serve in the country, they agreed to insert "subjects of the king, or naturalized." This, again, qualifies the Scotch and officers who are naturalized; but the number of men still remains 7000.*

* "We had the debate yesterday, whether there should be an instruction given to the committee to reconsider the number of the forces that were to be kept up, but with no better success than before, though the insufficiency of 7000 were fully laid open. There were three persons spoke against augmenting the numbers, which were alone sufficient: we gave up the cause. Those were my Lord Hartington, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Richard Onslow. Mr. Montague spoke for the instruction, and very well, but Mr. Smith said nothing. Neither of them were for dividing, as thinking that would be to no purpose, and they have all along feared this occasion of disuniting. Therefore the question was declared in the negative against the instruction upon the cry of the House. We have been in committee this day for the bill: the blank for the time of disbanding is filled up with the 26th of March next, and they are put in mind they must take care they are first paid. We are not so strict in the qualifications of those that remain. They are still to be natural born subjects; but 'the kingdom of England' is left out, so that Scotch and Irish may serve."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* January 5. O. S. 1699.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, January 6—16. 1699.

I will not at present enlarge upon the great work of the Spanish succession. I will only add, that, at present, it appears to me more than before, that France means to keep to the treaty, and has no intention to begin a new war, unless the proceedings here should lead them to change their resolution, which there is but too much reason to apprehend. It will be necessary for M. van Dyckwelt to set out for Brussels, as soon as possible, in order to concert with the elector of Bavaria, about acceding to the alliance, and the renunciation, in the same manner, and terms, as the Dauphin has done.

I am very glad to see that you have made such progress in the negotiation with Lillieroot. I now suppose that it is on a right footing, and I should like you to urge it on as far as possible. I have already forwarded to Robinson instructions to negotiate at Stockholm on the subject of the treaty of commerce between England and Sweden.

Matters in Parliament here are taking a turn which drives me mad.* I shall soon see myself forced to take a step that will astonish them; but I cannot speak more of it at present.

* "The King is not very right in health. He neither eats nor sleeps so well as he used to do; he cannot overcome himself under what he thinks a hard usage."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* January 10. O. S. 1699.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, January 19. 1699.

The House of Commons has continued its sitting: they will not finish the third reading of the bill for the reduction of the troops and the removal of foreigners till Wednesday next. It is known, however, that they have resolved to insist in it that no foreign troops shall be maintained after a certain day, which they have fixed in the month of March; that every treasurer who shall pay them after that day, every publican who shall harbour them, and every officer who shall command them, shall be declared, ipso facto, guilty of high treason; they add to this bill a fund for the payment of those who are cashiered, in order that the Lords may not touch it, because there is a money bill annexed, which, as they pretend, is a matter belonging to them alone. Those who are in favour of the Court oppose nothing, and, it seems, that it has determined to leave the nation to act as it will, without seeming to desire any thing to the contrary.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, January 22. 1699.

The report which was in circulation that Lord Godolphin would be Secretary of State gradually subsides. He has been urged to re-enter the Ministry by the Earl of Marlborough, whose daugh-

ter has married the son of the former.* The avarice of the latter has so much power over him, and he is so industrious that, though so entirely attached to the Princess of Denmark, whom Lady Marlborough governs with absolute sway, and, consequently, must be suspected, he has found means to gain Lord Albemarle to reconcile him to the King, with whom he appeared to be irreconcilably embroiled, to gain Mr. Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has the entire confidence of the Court, with respect to the finances, and the Parliament, and, in a word, to fill one of the principal places in the country; so that if Lord Godolphin accepts the office of Secretary of State, his cabal would be predominant beyond all proportion over all the others.

I view his establishment with some pain, because it will throw many obstacles in the way of the views which I have entertained, and which your Majesty had approved, since the principal object of this man is to secure the Crown to the Princess of Denmark, if the King should unfortunately die. As his cabal strengthens that of the Earl of Albemarle,

* Lady Henrietta Churchill, the eldest daughter of Marlborough, was married in 1698 to Francis, the only son of Lord Godolphin. This union cemented the intimate connection which had subsisted from their youth between Marlborough and Godolphin, and was increased by the attachment of the latter to the haughty Sarah, for whose character and talents he appears to have entertained the highest respect, and to whose opinions, particularly during the latter part of his life, he paid unlimited deference.

I might have called the attention of Lord Portland to it, and so have induced him to oppose it; but as I have hitherto kept on good terms with both, I have not ventured to take any steps which might hurt one party without the participation of your Majesty. I therefore beg you to be pleased to prescribe the conduct which you desire me to follow with respect to what you have ordered me to enter upon some months hence.

The Parliament continues to insist on the reduction of the troops, and labours, without ceasing, to perfect the bill which is to prescribe it. They have added a money bill to it, in order to pass it without the concurrence of the Lords, and they yesterday voted a grant of 300,000*l.* for the payment of the troops who are to be cashiered, and to complete the payment of those who are cashiered already. They are inexorable with respect to foreigners: the blue guards and the troop of life guards, commanded by M. d'Auverquerque, will recross the sea; the five regiments of French Protestants will be cashiered. The King no longer makes any opposition to it. The Earl of Portland, speaking the other day, on this subject, said to me that the King might have put them on another footing at a time when he was younger, and his passions more ardent; but that now that he was old, he preferred calmness and mildness to what appeared to be the best for his own interest. The nation is so determined no longer to have an army, that, fancying it perceived that at the time when the Court consented, in

appearance, to what was done for the security of their liberty, it thought to indemnify itself by causing the number of marines which was already 3000, to be increased to 6000 men, they proposed to cashier the 3000 old marines, or at least to have them reckoned among the 7000 who are to remain in England.

The affair of the Earl of Orford is put off till Tuesday next. It will also be considered whether Lord Galway shall be attacked or not, for I hear that they will not have him remain in Ireland, as they have recalled those who are naturalized, and he is of this number: he is safe on that side. Your Majesty will perhaps be glad to know that there are not more than thirty Frenchmen who are so: some desired, the day before yesterday, to have their names inserted in a naturalization bill, which was made in favour of a Swede; but the House rejected them.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, January 13—23. 1699.

I must repeat, that, at present, I begin to believe the intention of France is sincerely to observe the treaty; but I fear much that the disorders here may cause her to take another course. I believe we shall now have better hopes of the Imperialists; though I am astonished at the language their ministers have held to you and Hop, and how it could enter into their thoughts that England

and Holland should take measures with them to exclude the electoral prince of Bavaria from the succession of Spain, and to traverse the will made in his favour. I doubt not but France will advise me of what reaches them from the Imperial Court upon the subject; Tallard has promised to do so, according to the orders he had for that purpose.

I should like much if you could urge on the negotiations with Lillieroot in concert with Sir Joseph Williamson, to whom I have forwarded the necessary instructions. I have also forwarded instructions to Robinson to negotiate at Stockholm with respect to the treaty of commerce.

I am sorry to be obliged to tell you that matters here go on worse than one ever could have fancied, and that I foresee nothing but confusion and troubles. If France has advanced any money for this purpose, it has turned it to a very bad use. I can assure you that nothing is more superfluous; for, in general, people here are so blind and ill-disposed, that they have no need of pay as an inducement to abandon wholly their own safety.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, January 24. 1699.

The king of England is preparing to disband the troops, even before the bill has passed, and, like a skilful man, desires to do himself honour by what he has not been able to prevent. He has

gained the naturalized foreigners; and this is much, for it preserves the command of the troops for the Duke of Schomberg and the Earl of Galway.

The Parliament has granted a subsidy of 300,000*l.*, and as it is to pay the disbanded troops, and they desire to prevent what might give occasion to delay the disbanding, they have ordered that this sum shall be borrowed at present, by authority of Parliament, that 6 per cent. interest shall be paid, and that, in the course of the sittings of the Parliament, a sum shall be assigned for the repayment. The Lord Mayor already offers money. Thus every thing tends to the completion of this affair.*

* "I do not see at all that our case is mended. We pass on the disbanding bill, and the King seems resolved against it. Yesterday we were in a committee to consider of the supply, and immediately consented to Mr. Harley's proposal (the estimates first being read for form sake), that out of the supply should be granted to his Majesty the sum of 300,000*l.* for disbanding the army, and other public occasions. It being supposed that this will be more than sufficient for disbanding, the resolution was reported this day, and readily agreed to. Then Mr. Foley declared it was not their intention to proceed immediately towards forming a bill for the money; but, that the disbanding might not stop, he moved there should be a vote of credit to take up the money at interest; and the committee, who have the bill for disbanding the army before them, are empowered to prepare such a clause to be added to the bill."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* January 12. O. S. 1699.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, January 29. 1699.

The bill for the disbanding of the troops, which was to be read the third time the day before yesterday, was not read till yesterday. It was thought that it would pass without opposition. However, the debate was very long, and the House of Commons came to a division. Those who were against the bill, or in favour of retaining the Dutch guards, had sixty-seven votes fewer than those who were for passing the bill as it was in the committee. * This affair, then, is so far settled, and the bill was sent this morning to the House of Lords, which has fixed the first reading for Tuesday next. †

* "We passed the bill for disbanding yesterday, but it was long debated for; the opposition to it was made with more vigour at first than appeared hitherto in any of these debates, and beyond what was expected; many country gentlemen coming in voluntarily, and without any concert, to declare their dislike to so small a number. We had likewise a division for it, which we need not be ashamed of, though we lost it, for we had 154 against 221. The other party did not intend to debate at all, but sat silent till eight or so had spoke; but they, seeing themselves pelted from all corners of the House, came at last into the debate in their own defence. The bill was carried up to the Lords to-day with a great attendance. The King is better satisfied with the struggle of yesterday."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* January 19. O. S. 1699.

† "The Lords have deferred the first reading of the Disbanding bill till Thursday next. The Earl of Berkeley moved to put it off for a fortnight, which was a strange notion: if it had been followed, it is probable that the Commons would have

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, January 30. 1699.

I am persuaded that the king of England will be very glad to defer the communication of the partition treaty to the courts of Vienna and Madrid as long as he possibly can, on account of the opposition which he meets with in England; and I shall not insist on its being made till I see that it is absolutely necessary to do so. The situation of that prince is sufficiently embarrassing. It is dangerous on the one hand to suffer the authority of the Parliament to be manifest, and to give way to it on a first occasion so important as that of the disbanding or retaining of troops. I do not see, on the other hand, how the king of England could have acted, to resist a concert which seems to be unanimous on the part of all the nation, and in

adjourned for the same time. My Lord Haversham was another that showed his dislike of the bill; he said he did not fear troops, so much as arbitrary judges; and I know not what besides: but the Lords of weight and good understanding are not yet come to declare their sense of the bill; those of them that wish for a greater number will hardly think it attainable by having a difference with the House of Commons on such a point. I suppose, before they pass the bill, they will desire a conference with the Commons upon the state of the nation in relation to its safety. If it be entered into I know not what accommodation it may produce; but if the conference be refused, as it is very likely, since the Commons, calling this a money bill, will be jealous of the Lords mending it under any pretence whatever."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* January 21. O. S. 1699.

which even those have joined whom that prince considered as the most attached to him. It is certain that by resisting their will, and by using his power to prorogue the Parliament, the subsidies with which he cannot dispense would absolutely fail. But there is reason to believe that when the time comes to grant them, the nation, having felt its power, may raise up new difficulties, and reduce what it grants to a very moderate sum.

*[If things should take this turn, I cannot believe that it would be for my interest to leave the king of England so absolutely dependent upon his subjects, and there would be no more reliance to be placed on the engagements, upon which he has entered, if he should cease to be in a condition to execute what he has promised. In this conjuncture therefore, it might be proper to assist him to do without the help of his people, and I would do so with pleasure, if, by such means, it were possible to induce that prince to treat with me for the sum which I should give him from the principality of Orange. This proposal must not be made at present, but according to the turn which affairs may take, you may perhaps find an opportunity to insinuate it by degrees; intimating, that as the king of England has no child, nor heir of his own family, it is of little consequence to him that this principality should go, after his death, to the elector

* All that follows, to the end of the despatch, is struck out in the original. We have, nevertheless, thought proper to publish it, as faithfully expressing the sentiments of Louis XIV.

of Brandenburg; that, on the contrary, he would secure his authority in England, and consequently the happiness and tranquillity of his life, by finding means to do without the assistance of the Parliament; that it is hardly possible that this principality, situated in my kingdom, should not, from time to time, give occasion to complaints, and that it will always be difficult to prevent them, whatever pains may be taken. You will add to these reasons such as you shall think the most likely to facilitate the success of an affair which would be very agreeable to me. In short it is one which I confide to you, of which I do not think it would be proper to suffer anything to transpire at present, but I leave it to your prudence, to seek for an opportunity of doing so. You will let me know when you think that you have found one, and it will be still more to be wished that it might be possible for you to induce the king of England himself to make some overture to you upon the subject.]

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, January 31. 1699.

What is passing in the Parliament, respecting the reduction of the troops, may become so important, that I believe I ought not to confine myself to giving a general account to your Majesty of the matters which are resolved upon, but also to

inform you of the manner in which they have been conducted, and of the consequences which they may have, according to the steps which the King or the House of Lords may take in this conjuncture.

The King was surprised at the ardour which the Parliament showed, two or three days after it met, in insisting on fixing the number of troops that should remain in England at 7000 men. He thought that to gain time would be the means of bringing matters to the point which he desired; and for that purpose he induced the House of Commons to adjourn, not only till after the Christmas holidays, but to a late period in the following week. The Court endeavoured to profit by all this time, and to gain votes; but it was soon sensible that this was in vain, and resolved no longer to oppose the torrent. The members of the King's party did not speak at all when the bill was to be read the second time. A report was spread in London that the reduction which the nation desired would be made even before the time indicated, and ships were already sought to convey the Dutch to their own country. After the second reading, the House again adjourned for a week, at the end of which, it formed itself into a committee of the whole House, according to custom. The bill was passed without a division. Every body believed that the affair was over, and the next day was appointed for the third reading, and for the final passing; but no little surprise was occasioned when the day came, that the Court party began to speak again, and to make a fresh effort to throw out the bill. As

many members had neglected to come to the House, those of the opposite party sent into the City, to give them notice. At length, after a debate of five hours, the affirmative was carried by a majority of sixty-seven, and the bill finally passed.

In the debate the country members proposed at least to retain the Dutch guards, comprising the regiment of blue guards, the troop of life guards of M. d'Auverquerque, and the Portland regiment, but this proposal was so ill received, that it was rejected, though most of the members were inclined to grant the blue guards and the life-guards; and if they did not do so, it is because they did not know how to exclude the Portland regiment, which they would on no account retain. The King had caused this proposal to be made by independent members, not choosing that it should originate with persons attached to himself, in order that this step might not be attributed to him, and this is the reason why he did not obtain it, though an offer was made, as the final retrenchment, that when a Dutchman should die, whether officer or guard, horse or foot, he should be replaced by an Englishman.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, February 5. 1699.

The bill concerning the army was read on Tuesday, in the House of Lords, for the first time, but only a few members spoke on this occasion.

The only ones who delivered their opinions were Lord Haversham and Lord Stamford, who spoke against it. Lord Dartmouth replied, in favour. The Duke of Devonshire attempted to deny a fact in the speech of Lord Haversham, but he was mistaken about the matter in dispute, and Lord Godolphin came to his relief, by saying that this was not at present the point in question. Lord Peterborough said something in favour of the bill, after which the second reading was put off till Friday, which is to-morrow. *

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Marly, February 5. 1699.

Your good understanding with Lord Portland, being founded only on the affairs which you are to negotiate together, ought to be confined within the limits of these same affairs, and it would not be proper to extend it to private Court intrigues, and to take any part between

* "The Lords have read the disbanding bill this day the first time, and have appointed it a second reading on Friday next. My Lord Normanby was for putting it off till the Wednesday following. Little was said about it to-day; some that spoke showed what, I suppose, will be the general sentiment, that though they do not like the bill, and think there is not a sufficient provision made for the public safety, yet they are persuaded that any difference between the two Houses would be the worst way of coming at such further security as may otherwise be hoped for."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* January 24. O. S. 1699.

him and the Earl of Albemarle. I therefore approve of your not having excited the former to counteract the views of Lord Godolphin, respecting the office of Secretary of State, which he hopes to obtain by means of the Earl of Albemarle. As for the orders which I have given you respecting the overture which you propose to me to make, you know that I have left it entirely to your management to carry it into effect, when you shall find an opportunity. I therefore do not prescribe to you either the time or the manner; it is for you to judge of both. But above all things it is necessary not to be too eager to make this overture, and when you shall believe that the time is come, you will write to me, informing me of your reasons for believing it favourable, and will expect my further orders before speaking of it.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{January 27.}}{\text{February 6.}}$ 1699.

I received, some days ago, a letter from you without date, by which I see you are uneasy at the proceedings of the Parliament here against the foreigners. I think you have too much cause to be so; though, as yet, nothing has passed about you, and I have good reason to hope you will be left undisturbed. At least, you may be assured I shall do my utmost, that nothing be done at your prejudice; satisfied, as I am, with your conduct,

and useful as you are for my service. So you may be sure that I will not recall you, unless I am forced to it, which I hope will not be the case. It is not to be conceived how people here are set against the foreigners. You will easily judge on whom this reflects.

I design very shortly to send into Ireland five regiments of foot, and two of horse, and soon after three more of foot, eight in all. I will send you, in a few days, orders to disband Wolsey's regiment of horse, and nine regiments of foot, intending to keep only those of Hanmer and Hamilton. I design also, when the Parliament rises, to send you your regiment of horse, and the three French regiments, and perhaps Miramont's dragoons; but that must be very secret, though I much fear my design is already suspected here. I am in doubt whether I shall send likewise into Ireland Eppinger's regiment. All this together would amount to eighteen battalions of foot, three regiments of horse, and five of dragoons, reckoning Eppinger's for two; and this would be in a manner agreeable to your project, and, according to my calculation, the expense no greater; but, if it should be, something must be retrenched, of which I should be glad to know your sentiments. You will easily perceive how necessary it is that all this be kept secret. I thought it requisite to give you early notice of my intention, that you might take your measures accordingly; mine must be regulated according as things go in the Parliament, of which there is no

being sure till the session is over. There is a spirit of ignorance and malice prevailing here beyond conception. Be always assured of my friendship.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, February 8. 1699.

The news which I have just received obliges me to despatch this express to you, to inform you immediately of the change which it occasions, in all the measures which I have taken with the king of England, and with the States-General, respecting the partition of the Spanish monarchy. I learn that the electoral prince of Bavaria died of the small-pox, in the night of the 5th of this month. *

* "At the beginning of the year 1699, the principal powers of Europe seemed to vie with each other in aggrandizing the House of Bavaria: France, England, and Holland, with joint concert, designed Spain and the Indies to the Electoral Prince; and at the same time they settled the sovereignty of the Low Countries to the father. The Elector, in behalf of his son, then under age, signed the partition of the rest of the Spanish monarchy, specified in the treaty of the Hague. About the same time, the king of Spain appointed this young prince to be his successor. Who would not have imagined that all cause of war was removed, of such a war at least as could give any long interruption to the tranquillity, which Europe at that time enjoyed? But in vain does human prudence form designs, if they are not agreeable to the decrees of the Supreme Arbiter of peace and war, the great Disposer of sublunary events. The councils of those princes, with all their wisdom, could not prevent the general combustion that was to lay all Europe waste, nor the fury of the destroying sword, which for a series

The king of England may be informed of it before you receive this letter, but if he has not yet heard the news, you will communicate to him what I write to you. You will tell him that my first care has been to inform him of it; that he knows that my principal object in treating with him and with the States-General, was to prevent the tranquillity of Europe from being disturbed by the event of the death of the king of Spain; that the treaty of the Hague secured the maintenance of peace; that the unexpected death of the Electoral Prince changes indeed the measures which had been taken for the general good of Christendom, but that this event, making no change in the desire which I feel to prevent every thing that can give occasion to a new war, I have ordered you to learn from that prince what he thinks should now be done to secure the repose of Europe, and to prevent the death of his Catholic Majesty from exciting the troubles which were provided against by the treaty which you have signed.

The king of England will probably ask you what I myself think ought to be done in such a conjuncture. You will tell him that it was so

of years was to shed such a torrent of blood. The electoral prince of Bavaria died at Brussels the 5th of February, 1699. A great many things were said concerning the real cause of his death. The Elector, most sensibly affected with the loss of his son, did not impute it merely to the distemper of which he died. He strove to assuage his grief by publishing his suspicions; and the treaty of partition came to nothing."—*Memoirs of Torcy.*

unexpected, and that the deliberation on this subject is so important, that the only order which I have yet been able to give you is, to communicate this news to him, to know what he thinks on the measures which must be taken for the future, and that, desiring to regulate every thing in concert with him, I wish to know his opinion before forming any project. You will, in fact, wait for his answer before making any overture to him on my part. You will inform me, and you will add to it, in the account which you give me, all the views which you may have on the several partitions which will now have to be made. But you will wait for my orders, before opening yourself upon any of them to the king of England. He would believe that the proposal which you might make to him of your own accord would be in obedience to what I had ordered you, and it is very necessary that I should be informed of what he thinks before deciding as to what I shall have to do.

You must, above all things, let him see the entire confidence which I have in his sincerity, of which I have seen fresh assurances in all your letters; and omit nothing, clearly to point out to him that it is my principal object to find means to secure the repose of Europe, as solidly as it would have been, if the treaty of the Hague had been carried into execution.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, February 9. 1699.

The bill for the reduction of the troops was read, on Friday last, for the second time, in the House of Lords. * They deferred the examination of it, in a general Committee, till the following day, which was Saturday. Many members spoke, among whom was the Chancellor; a very small number were for rejecting the bill, most of the others, either through policy or conviction, said that it would have been desirable that a greater number of troops should have been maintained, that the Commons had taken a false step, and contrary to the interests of the nation; but that, if the bill in question did not pass, the division between the two Houses on this point might have such bad consequences, that though they had much fault to find, they would yet consent to its passing, and fix the third reading for Tuesday, which is to-morrow.

* "The Lords read the disbanding bill the second time on Friday, and were in a committee upon it the next day. It was then that the bill was most argued against, as to the insufficiency of the numbers; but, at the same time, it was allowed to be more convenient not to reject it. My Lord Chancellor and my Lord Tankerville were the most copious on the subject; there has been no division during all the debates on the bill." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* January 31. O. S. 1699.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, February 10. 1699.

Your Majesty will have learnt even before it was known here the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria. The news of it arrived here this morning, by a courier, whom M. van Dyckwelt despatched to the king of England.

The House of Lords this morning read the bill for the reduction of the troops the third time. Only a few members opposed it, and this designedly. Nothing more therefore is wanting than the assent of the King, and it is affirmed that he will go to the House to-morrow to give it.*

* "The disbanding bill was this day read a third time. I suppose the King will come to the House to-morrow or next day to pass it: he will take that occasion to speak to both Houses to try if they will come to another temper in what much concerns their safety, and his satisfaction." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* January 31. O. S. 1699.

"The King came to the House of Lords yesterday, and passed the disbanding bill. After that he made the enclosed speech [1], which I hope may have some good effect. Many people seemed moved with it, and express an inclination to gratify the King in continuing the Dutch guards." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* February 2. O. S. 1699.

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[1] My Lords and Gentlemen, — I am come to pass the bill for disbanding the army as soon as I understood it was ready for me. Though, in our present circumstances, there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of the troops; and though I might think myself unkindly used, that those guards who came over with me to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have been engaged,

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{January 31.}}{\text{February 10.}}$ 1699.

I received your letter of February 3rd, together with that from M. van Dyckwelt, so late on Friday, that I had not time to answer them; but only ordered the Earl of Portland to send you my opinion in a few words, intending to write to you more fully by this post. But I have, with great sorrow and concern, received your letter by express, with the unexpected news of the decease of the electoral prince of Bavaria, which changes affairs so much, that I cannot yet foresee the great inconveniences to which it may lead us. I think you put the affair in a clear light, and touch upon everything that can be taken into consideration in this important matter. My opinion was, that I

should be removed from me; yet it is my fixed opinion, that nothing can be so fatal to us as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between me and my people, which I must own would have been very unexpected, after what I have undertaken, ventured, and acted for the restoring and securing of their liberties. I have thus plainly told you the only reason which has induced me to pass this bill; and now I think myself obliged, in discharge of the trust reposed in me, and for my own justification, that no ill consequences may be at my door, to tell you as plainly my judgment that the nation is left too much exposed. It is therefore incumbent upon you to take this matter into your serious consideration, and effectually to provide such a strength as is necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of the peace which God has given us.

could do nothing better at first, than send Lord Jersey the orders which the Earl of Portland will inform you of, and to hold the same language with Count Tallard; and it will still remain to take such measures as may be judged most serviceable. I believe France will declare she will hold to the secret article; but I dread the consequences, if it come to be known or made public. With regard to the States and myself, I know not what conduct we shall pursue in Spain at present; for I cannot comprehend how we shall ever be able to declare our having intended the succession to the monarchy for the elector of Bavaria; and still less to communicate it to the Imperial Court; so that we are in no small labyrinth, and may it please God to help us out of it!

P.S.—In case M. van Dyckwelt has not already communicated the secret article to the elector of Bavaria, I think he ought not to do so till I see further how France takes this sad accident.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, February 11. 1699.

I have just left the Earl of Portland: he told me that the King requested me to send a courier to your Majesty, to know as soon as possible what are your opinions on an event so important as the unexpected death of the electoral prince of Ba-

varia; that, on his part, he had sent a despatch to Lord Jersey, to ask an audience of your Majesty, and to request you to explain to him what you thought it might be proper to do in so extraordinary a conjuncture. I replied to Lord Portland that the example which we had before our eyes, of the death of a young prince, should make us consider that the same might happen to the king of Spain; that moments were precious, when the peace of all Europe was concerned, and that I could not help being surprised that the king, his master, had not thought fit to state, at the same time, what he thought might be done on such an occasion as this. He replied that the King could not have any fixed opinion on this matter, without knowing what your Majesty thought of it. I answered, that I found that he was in the right, and that assuredly it would not be just to require from him a precise proposal, but that, if he would do me the honour to speak to me with his accustomed kindness, and to hold a familiar conversation with me, I would take the liberty to tell him what had passed through my mind; that he would see what good there might be in it; that if after that, he did me the honour to tell me what he thought of it, I should then give an account of it to your Majesty; and that it was on principles of this nature that opinions began to be formed, and that I was very anxious to have an audience of the King, because I was persuaded that this was a means to gain time. He answered that he was certain that I should gain nothing by it, and that on affairs where there

appeared so many difficulties on all sides, it was necessary that your Majesty, who, so to say, is a party in the matter, should have the goodness to let him know what you think it would be proper to do in this contingency.

I replied and rejoined, but all that I think I can discover in the remarks of the Earl of Portland is, that the king of England has thought of the king of Portugal, and of the elector of Bavaria, and that, if he reflected also on the duke of Savoy, it was merely *en passant.* It would be rash in me to form an opinion from a quarter of an hour's conversation with Lord Portland, but either I am much mistaken, or they will again enter into negotiations.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, February 12. 1699.

I received yesterday evening, the despatch which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me on the 8th of this month. I see very clearly that your Majesty is anxious that I should induce the king of England to explain himself first in this conjuncture; but you will see by my despatch of yesterday, that this prince has the same view with respect to your Majesty. I cannot doubt, after all that I have heard, that he would be upon his guard with me, if I were to think of pressing him. It therefore appears to me that we must proceed in a totally different manner; and I very

humbly beg your Majesty to rely entirely upon me, who see things close at hand, and examine with the strictest attention circumstances of which I can give no precise account, and to believe that what I plan, and am going to take the liberty to propose to your Majesty, is the best step that can be taken in this instance.

I have determined therefore not to ask an audience of the King, but to tell him to-morrow in his chamber, where I have the privilege of speaking to him, apart from everybody, and where I cannot be heard, that your Majesty has done me the honour to send me an express to inform him of the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, in case he should not previously have received intelligence of it; that he knows that your Majesty's principal object in treating with him, was to hinder the peace of Europe from being disturbed by the death of the king of Spain; that to attain that object, all measures had been taken which might contribute to the maintenance of peace; that if they were changed by the loss of the prince who had just died, the sentiments of your Majesty were nevertheless unaltered; that you had reason to believe that he, on his part, adhered to the same resolutions which he appeared to entertain upon that subject, and that I was so persuaded of this, that I would take the liberty to ask him the means he thought should be taken to effect it, if Lord Portland had not positively assured me that his Majesty did not think he could form an opinion till he knew that of your Majesty:

and that he had instructed the Earl of Jersey to ask you to communicate it to him. I shall add or diminish, according to what he may answer, and shall detain the courier, who is here, till to-morrow evening, in order to make use of him to inform your Majesty of what may have passed.

February 13.

I have just returned from Kensington. I spoke to the King in the very terms I had the honour to state to your Majesty at the beginning of this despatch. He answered me with great civility, and ended by saying that, if I desired to speak to him more at length, he was ready to give me an audience whenever I wished, but that, having caused your Majesty to be asked what was your opinion, he thought that politeness required him to wait before he gave his own.

The Duke of Ormond has resigned the office of gentleman of the bedchamber, in favour of his brother, Lord Arran: he is still captain of the guards, but it is believed that he will soon retire from this post.

I was on the point of closing this despatch when Lord Portland came in. I shall not delay the departure of the courier to give your Majesty a detailed account of the conversation I had with him. I will merely say that I am further confirmed in what I wrote to your Majesty in my letter of the 11th, that I thought I had divined, and he appeared to me to doubt whether the treaty still subsists or not; and whether the case in which

the elector of Bavaria was to succeed the prince his son, is set aside by the death of the latter, or not, which convinces me that the King desires that the elector of Bavaria may take the place of his son; and this, by virtue of the treaty which is already signed, reserving the new explanations that it will be necessary to make.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, February 3—13. 1699.

Count Tallard has been with me and the Earl of Portland to-day. He says, he has received an express from his court with the news of the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, and assures us, they have the same feeling as when the treaty was made; but seems to insinuate that the secret article ceases, which, in my opinion, is the case, having read it over with attention; so that new engagements must be entered upon, in which I foresee no small difficulty, and about which I should be very glad to learn your sentiments.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, February 13. 1699.

You may have discerned from the first movement of the king of England, the effect which an event so unforeseen (the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria) has produced on his mind. You

will see into it still better, if he first declares himself respecting the measures which he believes should be adopted to re-establish, by a new treaty, what I had done in concert with him, to secure the preservation of peace. In fine, the order which I had given you on this occasion, to discover above all things what are the sentiments of that prince on so unlooked for a change, is another proof of the confidence which I have in the sincerity of his intentions; and nothing can more clearly show him that I persist in the resolution of taking no step in an affair of such importance, without having first agreed on it with him.

As, however, he might interpret otherwise the silence which you would observe on this subject, and as, if you defer making him any proposal, he might perhaps ascribe it to your distrust of his sentiments, or to a deliberate design to make him open himself first, in order to take advantage of what he might offer; as, besides, it seems in some measure that my dignity might be injured by waiting, as a kind of decision, for what the king of England should express; all these considerations together, oblige me to inform you of my intentions, on the alternatives which you may propose in the present conjuncture, if the king of England has not yet said anything to you respecting what he thinks ought to be done. This subject has been so often agitated during the negotiation of the treaty of the Hague, that you could not be silent on the matter, without convincing the king of England that I have expressly prohibited you from

making the least overture to him, and that you wait for him to speak first.

The partition of the Spanish monarchy, which the treaty of the Hague divided between my son and two other claimants, is naturally reduced to two, since the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria. The change which it makes does not cause any in the resolution which I have taken, to prefer the tranquillity of Europe to my own advantages. My son gave up the greater part of his rights in favour of the Electoral Prince; I do not think of supporting them in their whole extent, now that the death of that prince breaks the engagements into which I had entered. It remains therefore to be seen, how the partition can be made in two equal portions, and in such a manner as to secure the general peace.

I know how much Europe would be alarmed at seeing my power raised above that of the House of Austria, if the equality between both, upon which it makes its repose to depend, should cease to subsist; but, on the other hand, the power of the Emperor is so much increased, as well by the submission of the princes of the Empire, and by the advantageous peace which he has just concluded with the Turks*, that it is for the general interest, that, if it becomes still greater, mine shall be always able to counterbalance it. It is on this principle that the proposals of a partition of the Spanish

* The treaty of Carlowitz, concluded on the 26th of January, 1699.

monarchy must be regulated. Following the treaty of the Hague, something might be added to the states which are to belong to my son, and, at the same time, a greater number, and more considerable, assigned to the Archduke. It remains to make the division in such a manner, that the augmentation of the portion of my son shall rather serve as an assurance to the neighbouring states, and to all Europe, as a security against the designs of the Emperor, than to give umbrage to other powers. Therefore, of so many states which the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria leaves to be divided anew, the only one which you will propose to add to what is to belong to my son will be the duchy of Milan. This augmentation cannot excite the jealousy of England, of the States-General, or of the other princes of Europe, excepting those of Italy. Besides, there is reason to believe that knowing, as they do, the designs of the Emperor, and seeing that I entertain no pretension contrary to their rights and their sovereignty, they would prefer seeing that state in my hands, rather than that the Emperor should become the master of it: it does not increase my power by sea, and therefore this acquisition would not cause any uneasiness to the English and the Dutch, in regard to their trade.

According to this arrangement, and conformably to the treaty of the Hague, the share of my son would be composed of the province of Guipuscoa, of Final, of the towns on the coast of Tuscany, of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which he

was to have by the same treaty; and he would be content with Milan, in lieu of every thing which he might claim in addition, since the death of the Electoral Prince. This would give to the Archduke the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, the places on the coast of Africa, the islands of Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, Ivica and the Philippines.

This partition not only appears to me to be just, but I think it such as may be desired for the general interest of all Europe; and, to ensure tranquillity, it must be laid down as a principle, that it must always fear the too great power of the Emperor, and that the only bulwark which it can oppose to it is the increase of mine in proportion.

In this view it is of the highest importance, independently of my interests, that if the Archduke has Spain, Milan should be separated from that monarchy; for that state, serving as an easy communication between the two branches of the House of Austria, would raise the power of that House to the prejudice of all the princes of Europe.

I foresee, however, great difficulties on the part of the king of England consenting that the duchy of Milan shall be added to the portion of my son. The opposition which he constantly made, during the negotiation at Loo, to comprehend it in the treaty, instead of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, makes me conclude that he will now be equally decided. I have pointed out to you the principal reasons which you may urge to overcome this opposition; but, if you see that it is impossible to do so, you may propose to him, as of your own

accord, and as an idea suggested to you by the conversation, an expedient which will facilitate the success of so important an affair.

This expedient would be to engage me by the treaty to exchange the duchy of Milan for that of Lorraine. You can point out to him, if you enter upon this discussion, that the acquisition of Lorraine would be a small addition to my power, that state being so enclosed in my dominions, that it is impossible for a duke of Lorraine ever to take any other part than such as shall please me; that by giving Milan to him, a new power would be formed in Italy; that it would be sufficiently considerable to assist the neighbouring princes, and to concur with them in the maintenance of their liberty, if it should ever be attacked by the Emperor. A duke of Milan might even be strengthened, if it were thought proper, by the following treaty of exchange.

I would engage, for instance, to give to the duke of Savoy the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily,—I might even add the places on the coast of Tuscany, retaining only Final. That prince would cede to me the duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, and the county of Nice, the part which he possesses of Montserrat, and his rights and pretensions to that province. I would give up to the duke of Milan the part which the duke of Savoy possesses of Montserrat, the rights and the claims that he may have to it. It would not be difficult to unite the remainder after the death of the duke of Mantua, making an arrangement with those who may have any claims,

and forming establishments for the duke of Lorraine, much more considerable than his present dominions, and thus give a new support to the princes of Italy.

But you are not to propose these expedients to the king of England, except as views of your own, to remove the objections, which he will certainly make, to include Milan in the portion of my son.

With respect to this proposal—I mean of adding Milan to what is determined by the treaty of the Hague—you may tell him that this is the first idea which has occurred to you, and that which I might the most naturally entertain myself, after having learnt the death of the Electoral Prince; that, however, this will not hinder you from examining, with him, the other overtures which he shall think fit to make to you, and that you will make yourself acquainted with my intentions, after the account which you will give me of them.

You may also propose, as another alternative, to give to the duke of Savoy the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, and what I have just included in the share of the Archduke; to leave to the latter the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; to give to the duke of Lorraine the duchy of Milan, and what belongs to the duke of Savoy in Montserrat; the rest of the states of the duke of Savoy remaining to me, with those of the duke of Lorraine, as well as the province of Guipuscoa. Whatever proposal I may agree to, it is necessary that this province should remain to me, on the terms laid down in the treaty of the Hague.

You will, however, not insist upon any of these proposals; you will make them only as general overtures, those which I have marked appearing to come from yourself; and you will principally endeavour to show, that all these views do not affect the trade of the English and the Dutch, nor the safety of the latter. It is for this reason that I do not include the Low Countries in the share either of my son, or that of the Archduke. The king of England and the States-General, would equally regret to see them in my hands or those of the Emperor. You will therefore ask the king of England what plan must be pursued to avoid both.

If he does not explain himself you may propose three plans, but without insisting upon any one, and merely seek to discover which would be most suitable to the common interests of the other powers. The first would be to form a republic of all the cities of the Catholic Low Countries; to unite them by alliances with the United Provinces, and thus enable them to concur in their mutual preservation. Secondly, it might be agreed to give the Low Countries in sovereignty to the queen of Spain, after the death of his Catholic Majesty. The third project would, apparently, be less to the taste of the king of England. It consists in renewing the treaty made in 1635 by the late King, my father, with the States-General, for the partition of the Low Countries. Several of the provinces which were to belong to him by this treaty have been since united to my crown. I,

however, can hardly believe that the king of England, and even the Dutch, will now consent to such an arrangement; and you must take care, if you propose it to that prince, to do so in a manner which may not lead him to believe that I think of aggrandizing myself on the side of the Low Countries.

These, then, are merely the overtures which you may make in the present conjuncture, introducing them by degrees, and entering, as if from yourself, on the discussion of those for which you must not appear to have received any instructions from me. It would be useless to repeat those which I have already given you; to lead the king of England, as far as you possibly can, to speak first. You know the advantage which you may derive from it; and I have no doubt that you will do it in such a manner, that there may not be any apparent mistrust of his sentiments on my part.

I am anxious that that prince should see that he cannot require any addition to the confidence which I put in him; and that I am persuaded that this perfect understanding is necessary to conduct these affairs happily to the end proposed, and to secure, by the just measures which I shall take with him, the preservation of a long peace in Christendom.

If, however, that prince should be averse from what I can lay claim to, even while giving proofs of my moderation to all Europe, it would perhaps not be difficult for me to make an arrangement with the Emperor, and to agree, with him, on a more advan-

tageous partition. The facilities, which are already great, will become still more so, when the death of the Electoral Prince is known at Vienna.

On the other hand, if I choose to treat with the queen of Spain, there is every appearance that she would rather take measures with me than with the Emperor, whose resentment she will always fear, after having so mortally offended him. She would even be more sure of the advantages which I should promise her, than of those which that prince might lead her to expect.

All these reasons must show you, that, when I decide still to treat with the king of England, in preference to following any other plan, I have solely in view the peace of Europe, which I prefer to every other advantage; but it is also necessary that no perverse obstacles shall be thrown in the way of what I propose, which is just and reasonable; and, above all things, it is to be wished that I may soon know what I have to expect from the king of England, in order that I may judge whether it would be proper for me to take measures elsewhere. You must not, however, urge him in any manner which he may think suspicious. It is sufficient for you to let him see how important it is to agree speedily on the new precautions which must be taken in case of the death of the king of Spain; and the embarrassment in which we should be involved if it should occur before all things had been regulated by a new treaty.

P. S. — You will add to these projects for the

destination of the Low Countries, a fourth, which would give the sovereignty of them to the elector of Bavaria.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, February 7—17. 1699.

I am in daily expectation of an answer from the Earl of Jersey from France, touching the representation he will have made, by my order, on the occasion of the decease of the electoral prince of Bavaria. I informed you in my last of the hint thrown out to me by Count Tallard, with reference to the secret article. He has since held the same language to the Secretary of State. Hence new measures and engagements must be taken and entered into, of which we shall be better able to judge when an answer comes from France.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, February 19. 1699.

The House of Lords and the House of Commons have both presented addresses to the King, to thank him for having given his assent to the bill for the reduction of the troops*: since

* "We are preparing an address of thanks to his Majesty for his speech, which was moved by Sir John Mainwaring, as the day for considering it was by Sir Charles Hotham. Mr.

that time they have taken his speech into consideration. The House of Commons voted, the day before yesterday, that, since his Majesty believed that this kingdom had not sufficient troops for its defence, strict orders should be given that the militia should be in a condition fit for active service.* The Lords voted yesterday, that it would

Harley came into both the motions. If he be likewise earnest in promoting them, the King may be more easy at last. The present number of marines, with the Dutch guards, would satisfy us. Without the concurrence of some of those gentlemen, would be difficult; they having still the lead."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* February 2. O. S. 1699.

On the 4th of February O. S. the House of Commons resolved, "that an humble address be presented to the King, to give his Majesty thanks for his most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, with the assurances of this House, that they will stand by, and assist his Majesty in the support of him and his government, against all enemies whatsoever." They accordingly put their resolutions in the form of an address, more complimentary than sincere, to which William answered, rather drily: "I take this address very kindly. I am fully satisfied of your duty and affection to me, and have no doubt but you will always act in the manner you have expressed on this occasion." The address of the Lords was more gracious, and the King likewise answered them with more cordial expressions.

* "However reasonable it might be to gratify his Majesty with his guards, there appears no great disposition towards it, at least in public assemblies. It was discoursed at the Rose Club on Saturday night; but either out of dislike to it, or from an apprehension of being baffled, they were of an opinion not to attempt it, but thought it more advisable to put off the consideration of the King's speech to another day, which was not in their power, for the other party would have it take its course. It was read accordingly yesterday, and Mr. Harley was pretty quick in proposing, that for a further security of the

be proper to pay the King a compliment on his blue guards, that is to say, to let him retain them, if it were possible to find means to do so without deviating from the parliamentary forms. There was a long debate on the manner of doing it, the majority maintaining that the affair could not be again discussed till after the prorogation of Parliament. Hereupon the Chancellor spoke, and said that, though he was entirely of opinion that the Dutch regiment, which the King seemed to desire, should remain in England, a prorogation appeared to him so violent a remedy, that he should be the first to advise that it should not be adopted. In fine, after ten hours' debate, the majority, which was six, resolved on the vote, which I have had the honour to state above.

There was a quarrel between Lord Peterborough and Lord Orford, which was carried very far: the House, which took notice of it, forbade them to challenge each other, and required their word.*

nation, a bill should be brought in for better regulating the militia, which was readily closed with, as if it were a good deliverance from a debate, that was perhaps apprehended on all sides."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* February 9. O. S. 1699.

* "The Lords have been to-day laying more express commands upon my Lord Peterborough and my Lord Orford, that they should not fall into a quarrel,—being told what they did yesterday would not be sufficient to prevent it. They have now engaged their words to be very quiet; and it is reported that Lord Peterborough should brand Lord Orford with being a ———— and a coward, but he denies to have said so: however, it was something very gross."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* February 9. O. S. 1699.

It is said that Lord Godolphin has not expressed any desire for the office of Secretary of State, and I have been assured that it is destined for the Earl of Jersey, who was to return from France about Easter. As he belongs neither to the Whigs nor to the Tories, this arrangement would be agreeable to all parties.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, February 20. 1699.

I have had an audience of the king of England this morning. I repeated to him what I have already had the honour to state to your Majesty I had said to him in his chamber. Then, following the train of argument which your Majesty prescribed, I proceeded to the proposal to give Spain, the Indies, the islands of Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, the Philippines, and the places on the coast of Africa, to the Archduke; and the province of Guipuscoa, with all that the Spaniards possess in Italy, to the Dauphin.

The king of England immediately entered upon all the objections already made with respect to Milan. After having made use of all the arguments furnished by my instructions, to combat his objections, I told him that I would confess, that, since yesterday, I had received the despatch of your Majesty; that I had expected all the opposition which I met with on his part to cede Milan

to France, and that this had induced me, though without orders, to examine the means which might be found to take it from the House of Austria, which had already but too many states, without its remaining in possession of the Dauphin.

I then proposed, as of my own accord, to give it to the duke of Lorraine, and to add the states of that prince to your Majesty's crown. I observed that this could not be considered as an augmentation of your power, nor as a country which could be of use to your Majesty's enemies on any occasion, if you should ever take up arms again; that that duchy ought to be considered as a province of the kingdom, the revenues of which your Majesty did not indeed receive in time of peace, but which during the war assisted you by affording winter quarters, and as many troops as such a small country could maintain.

To this the king of England made no answer, except that he was not sufficiently acquainted with Lorraine or Milan, to know whether the duke of Lorraine would be willing to make the exchange. I replied that, if your Majesty approved of my idea, and if he consented to it, it would be our business to induce the duke of Lorraine; and that I believed that there would not be need of much eloquence to prevail with him.

He told me, that, having instructed his ambassador to learn the intentions of your Majesty, he could not form an opinion on any point, before he had received intelligence from him. I answered, that I thought he was right, and that I was per-

suaded beforehand that he would not explain himself on any point, till after he had received the answer of the Earl of Jersey. I added, that, in all that your Majesty had done me the honour to signify to me, it did not appear to me that you had paid the least attention to a point, on which I found that the Earl of Portland laid great stress, viz. that the treaty still subsisted, by virtue of the secret article, by which he affirmed that the elector of Bavaria was designated to succeed to the portion allotted to his son; that I did not know if what Lord Jersey was to say to your Majesty would cause you to reflect upon this subject. He answered, that it was true that it seemed to him, that the intention of everybody in signing, had been to give a successor and heir to the Spanish monarchy, even after the Electoral Prince, in order that no disputes might arise on that occasion; that the Pensionary Heinsius was of the same opinion.

I replied that it was true that it had been intended to designate a successor to the electoral prince of Bavaria, when he had become king of Spain, if he should die without children; but, dying before he became king, the elector of Bavaria, who could only succeed to his right, inherited nothing, because he could have no right during the life of his Catholic Majesty; that we must be candid and confess that we had all believed that it was not possible that any one could die before the latter prince, and that thus the case which had just happened had not been foreseen.

Hereupon I drew from my pocket the secret

article and read it to the King; but, as he did not cease to be upon his guard, and to envelope himself in all the common-place arguments, and indefinite language, which he thought calculated to hinder me from discovering any thing, I did not think of making any other overtures, and contented myself with saying, that I had no opinion as to whether the elector of Bavaria was in the position to become king of Spain or not; that my ideas on this subject must come from you; but that, meantime, until I should know what I should write positively, I could not help saying, that I did not find that the treaty of the Hague gave him much right to that crown.

I afterwards added, as I was retiring, that I had forgotten to tell him that, as your Majesty judged that he would not be well pleased to see the Low Countries in the hands of a French prince, or in those of a prince of the House of Austria, you agreed to make such use of them as he should think the most suitable to secure the barrier for which they were intended to serve. I even proposed to give them to the elector of Bavaria, because I know that this is what will be most agreeable to him; but I did not go further into details, having seen him determined, from the first word that he said to me, to conceal himself as carefully as he could. He, however, let me understand that he had no repugnance to see the Low Countries in the hands of a prince of the House of Austria, who should be king of Spain, and that it was only the Emperor, or a French prince, in

whose hands he thought they ought not to be placed.

It seems decided that Lord Godolphin will not be Secretary of State. It is thought certain that the Earl of Jersey will occupy that post. He is no party man, and will neither favour nor counteract the design which your Majesty entertains respecting the Prince of Wales.

I wish with all my heart that I could succeed in my project, for if King James should die before any thing is decided on that subject, I foresee terrible embarrassment, which may be stated in two words. —Would the prince of Wales assume, in that case, the title of king of England, or would he not? If he does, he must break with this country; if he does not, he abandons his pretensions. On the other hand, I find that the king of England has little influence over the Parliament; that his last speech has not conciliated it; it always does the worst it can.

The affair of the blue guards has stopped short in the House of Lords. As for the Commons they are in a rage. Instead of proceeding with the affair of the fleet, they attacked, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, which, to this hour, had never been executed, all those who were receivers of the king's money, saying that they cannot be chosen members of Parliament. They, yesterday, expelled a member from the House; to-day they have expelled another, and the brother of Mr. Montague is put off till Monday, when he is ordered to be expelled. It is affirmed that they will exclude several other

members; they want to remove the persons whom they believe to be of the Court party, on account of their offices, in order to attack the Earl of Orford and the Admiralty with more success; and it is believed that, after having proceeded in this manner against the persons attached to the navy, they will likewise attack Lord Ranelagh, who is paymaster of the forces, and it is not known whether, after that, they will remain quiet.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, February 10—20. 1699.

The Earl of Portland will inform you of the new proposals Count Tallard has made me this day. It surprises me not a little, that France should consent that a son of the Emperor should be king of Spain, which before the treaty was made, they protested so strongly they would never agree to, as you know; but it seems as if the desire to have Milan or Lorraine, without a war, induced them to it. It were to be wished, that this great work were again brought to a regular negotiation, agreeably to your views; but I foresee that France will press me much for a positive answer, which will embarrass me not a little. For I think the new proposals are not to be slighted, and it will, nevertheless, be very difficult for us to enter into new engagements, without the previous approbation or knowledge of the Emperor; con-

cerning which I should be glad to receive your opinion, as well on the mode of negotiating, as on the proposals themselves.

I have had a conversation with the Earl of Albemarle on the motive that induced him to break off his correspondence with you. He will write you himself by the next post, and will give you complete satisfaction; though I have not been able to see that there was any dissatisfaction. When you write to me on this matter, pray do so in a separate note, for I might possibly have to show your letter to the Earl of Portland.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, February 23. 1699.

Your despatches having been delivered to me on the 16th, I sent for the Earl of Jersey. After having spoken to him conformably to what I have written to you of my sentiments on the preservation of peace, and given him to understand that the partition which I was willing to make in this view must be only between my son and the Archduke, and that, consequently, the share of my son must be augmented, I mentioned to him all the states which should compose it, according to the treaty of the Hague, and added Milan, agreeably to what I wrote to you in my last letter.

I did not express myself on the second proposal contained in that letter, nor on any of the expedients which I have pointed out to you; nor did I

speak to him of the destination of the Low Countries. What he then said to me, confirms the opinion which you entertain, that the king of England thinks of the elector of Bavaria, and of substituting him in the place of the Electoral Prince. Lord Jersey proposed him to me, but I gave him to understand, that that Elector having no right, it would be necessary to recommence the war, in order to support the arrangement which should be adopted in his favour. At the close of his audience he repeated the same overture respecting the elector of Bavaria, and asked, as the king of England has done, whether the secret article was annulled by the death of the Electoral Prince.

I therefore do not doubt that that prince has, on the whole, preferred this view, and that he will insist upon it more than he did, when you communicated those which are contained in my last letter. The proposal to make the elector of Bavaria succeed his son, cannot now be entertained. It was good in the case provided for by the treaty. It was supposed that the Electoral Prince would come to the crown at no advanced age; that during his minority, the Elector, his father, would govern his dominions; that he would then accustom the Spaniards to consider him as the master of this monarchy; that his regency would furnish him with means to dispose every thing in such a manner that he might succeed his son if that young prince should die. The present state of affairs is entirely different. The death of the electoral prince of Bavaria overthrows the party of the Elector in

Spain. He ceases to have the least shadow of a right to that crown. It would be proposing to the Spaniards a stranger for their king. It is well known that they have a particular objection to his person; even, independently of this reason, it is easy to judge of the aversion they would have for a prince, whom it should be proposed to them to raise to the throne, on condition of dismembering the monarchy. It would be indispensable to make war, to put the elector of Bavaria in possession of the portion assigned in his favour by a new treaty.

When all these difficulties were pointed out to the Earl of Jersey, he answered, that a war with Spain would be neither long nor considerable when my forces should be joined to those of the king of England and the States-General. It is impossible to judge of the issue of a war undertaken to oblige different states to recognise as king a prince who has no right to allege, and whom the people would unanimously refuse to acknowledge under that title. It is equally impossible to foresee what would be the duration of the league which is now proposed, and the events which might impair its solidity.

But, even if the solidity of this hope could be certainly relied upon, and if all appearances promised a happy result, yet the projects that should be made on this foundation would be easily overturned during the life of the king of Spain. Nothing will be more easy for him than to destroy them, without renewing the war, or without much fearing events, if it should be renewed on this occasion.

The treaty made in favour of the elector of

Bavaria could not long remain secret; as soon as it should be known, the king of Spain would probably send for the Archduke, and declare him his successor; all the states of the monarchy would unanimously concur in acknowledging him in this quality; they would consider this choice as the only resource which they had to hinder this dismemberment. It would be necessary either to make war on the king of Spain and on the Emperor, to oblige his Catholic Majesty to retract his choice, or else quietly to wait for the death of that prince, then to attack the Archduke and support the partition made in favour of the elector of Bavaria. The first plan would lead to a long war, the success of which would be at least doubtful; that of the second, would be still more difficult.

The recovery of the king of Spain's health gives reason to believe that that prince may yet live many years. The Archduke would pass them with him; he would accustom the people to consider him as their king; he would perhaps put affairs in better order: in a word, he would be able, after the death of his Catholic Majesty, to maintain himself in the rank to which he had been called, and would assert his right with an appearance of justice against a stranger, like the elector of Bavaria.

Thus the proposal made in favour of the Elector, if it could be acted upon, would serve, above all things, to make the Emperor obtain what he desires. That prince would unite in his branch alone all the estates of the House of Austria, and his power,

increased by the acquisitions which he has made for some years past, would perhaps become as formidable to the English and to the Dutch, as to the other princes; who would perceive too late the interest they would have had in hindering, with all their power, this union of so many states in the family of the Emperor.

Such are the arguments that have been used in answer to the Earl of Jersey. He did not reply to them, and I cannot believe that they will fail in persuading the king of England that it is not advisable to think at present of the elector of Bavaria. The only thing that can be proposed for him is the sovereignty of the Low Countries. The ambassador of England has expressed his sentiments, but merely as a private opinion of which he had no order to speak. We have not communicated to him any of the different projects specified in the last letter which I wrote to you on the disposal that might be made of those provinces.

I question whether the king of England will insist upon the proposal to substitute the king of Portugal for the Electoral Prince. The union of the dominions which the crowns of Spain and Portugal possess in the East and West Indies, would give too much umbrage to the English and to the Dutch to allow it to be believed that the king of Great Britain will contribute to procure the crown of Spain for the king of Portugal. It would be giving him means, easily to revenge himself for all that the Dutch have done to the prejudice of the Portuguese, in the East Indies and in the New World.

With respect to my interests, it is proper always to keep these two crowns separate, and, as much as possible, to hinder their being united under the same master. It is in this view, that, if in the course of the negotiation it should appear more advantageous to place the king of Portugal on the throne of Spain, rather than agree on some other mode of disposing of the states of the monarchy, it would be necessary at the same time to stipulate that that prince should leave the crown of Portugal to one of his sons, and that it should never be united to that of Spain.

It would, however, be still better that these two crowns should be united, than consent that the Low Countries should be united to that of Spain. But the king of Portugal must not be thought of till after all the other proposals contained in my last letter have been discussed, and it has been found that there are insurmountable difficulties in carrying them into effect.

If the king of England consents to a partition, nearly such as I have pointed out to you, it seems to me absolutely necessary immediately to engage the Emperor in the treaty, and to obtain from him declarations similar to those which I have given, and to that of my son, such as I had required from the elector of Bavaria; such, in short, as it was agreed that the Emperor should give, when he should sign the treaty of the Hague. The Earl of Jersey himself proposed to communicate to the Emperor what should be done, and to agree with him on the partition; hence I do not doubt that such is the opinion of the king, his master.

After having explained to you my intentions respecting the bases of the negotiation, I trust to your prudence to conduct it in such a manner as you judge the most suitable, from the knowledge you have of affairs and the temper of the king of England.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, February 26. 1699.

As soon as the king of England had received the courier whom the Earl of Jersey sent to him, after the second audience which he had of your Majesty, he informed me that he desired to speak with me, and that he requested me to be with him at noon the following day. I repaired to him accordingly at the hour appointed, and was immediately admitted into his cabinet, where I remained in conversation with him a full hour and a quarter.

The first point under discussion was, whether the elector of Bavaria was designated by the secret article of the treaty of the Hague, to succeed to the Spanish monarchy in the event which has occurred, of the death of the Electoral Prince, before that of his Catholic Majesty. I hesitated to express my sentiments, as I was not yet informed of those of your Majesty, till the king of England had told me that you had stated your opinion upon the subject to Lord Jersey; but when I knew this, I showed clearly that there were no terms in the said

article which could give reason to suppose that there were any engagements in favour of the elector of Bavaria; but, still, in such a manner that if your Majesty thinks fit to change your opinion, I am at liberty to follow it.

The king of England only answered to my reasons that it was true that some persons might think as I seemed to do, but that the matter was of such a nature that every one might have his own opinion; that, having acted in all things in concert with the States-General, it was very proper that their opinion should be ascertained before making any declaration, and that he was much mistaken if they were not persuaded that the treaty subsisted.

To this I replied, that it seemed from the proposition which I had had the honour to make to him at my last audience, that your Majesty was convinced of the contrary, since it would be much more advantageous to see Spain and the Indies in the hands of an independent prince, than in those of the Archduke, who might act in concert with his father; and that the augmentation of the portion of the Dauphin, in this last case, was not to be preferred to preventing the Spanish monarchy from falling into the hands of the House of Austria, if your Majesty believed that there was reason to do so.

We then proceeded to examine the alternatives which I had proposed to him, of the Archduke or the duke of Savoy for the crown of Spain, with the consequences pointed out in your Majesty's despatch, according as he should accept the one or the

other of these proposals. He dwelt much more upon the first than on the second, only asking me why we should inherit Lorraine by the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria? I replied, that the Dauphin would inherit not from the Electoral Prince, but from the king of Spain; that there remained only two candidates; that, therefore, the partition which had been made in favour of the third, and which was become null by his death, should be divided between the two who remain, and that, this principle being laid down, it could not be required that the Dauphin should be content with a smaller portion than Milan, which I still hoped to induce your Majesty to change for Lorraine, after every thing should be settled; that I begged him to make two reflections on this point, first, that your Majesty would never consent that that state should remain in the hands of the Archduke, king of Spain, because it would cause the junction of the power of the two branches of the House of Austria; and, secondly, that Lorraine could never be considered as augmenting in any respect the power of your Majesty, but only regulating the frontiers, which your Majesty could in no case make use of, to excite the jealousy of any person, and which no one, in fact, could at times make use of to do injury to your Majesty.

The point regarding the duke of Savoy was discussed in all the views prescribed by your Majesty. I then touched on the Low Countries; I said that your Majesty consented, that it might be seen what use could be made of them; that they might seem

as a barrier to the States-General; that you agreed to let them go into the hands of the elector of Bavaria, &c. &c. He replied to this, "But for my religion, I would demand them for myself." I answered, "Then, Sire, it would be for your House, for you do not believe it would suit you as king of England, and I have no orders whatever on this subject." He said, further, "What I say to you, is to desire you not to speak of it."

The parliamentary news is very unfavourable to the Court. There is every probability that there will not be any change respecting the blue guards, and that they will return to Holland. Thirty-eight Lords have protested against the irregularity of the vote which had been passed in this House to consider of the means of retaining them, the bill which dismisses them having passed through all the forms. The House of Commons would not even deliberate on the question, and, instead of continuing the debate relating to the subsidies, it has been entirely engaged, for these ten days, on the question of ejecting some of its members, by virtue of a law passed five years ago.* The following are the facts:—

* By the 5th of William and Mary, ch. 7. sect. 57., no Member of the House of Commons shall at any time be concerned in the collecting or managing any of the duties granted by that or any future Act of Parliament; except the Commissioners of the Treasury, and the Officers and Commissioners for managing the Customs and Excise. By the 11th and 12th of William III. ch. 2. sect. 150. the exception in the former act, with respect to Officers concerned in the Excise, is repealed, and such persons

When the Parliament was obliged during the last war to grant new duties on the excise and other taxes, the Exchequer was thereby authorised to give commissions to collect them. The House of Commons, seeing that this creation of new offices would give new creatures to the Court, and that it would do all that it could to make the elections of Parliament fall on those who hold them, passed an act by which it declared that those who should hold these new offices, going back to a certain date, could not be elected members of Parliament. It happened, however, that many persons who held those offices have been admitted, and this is the investigation which is now making, and which gives occasion to the House of Commons to eject from the House those who are found to possess these offices, and, consequently, to diminish the Court party.

As five or six months would be required to investigate the affairs of the navy, it is believed that the members of the House of Commons who have a desire to return home, will not engage in an affair which will require so much time, and if the Earl of Orford escapes it will be for that reason.*

are declared incapable of sitting, voting, or acting as Members; and by the 12th and 13th of William III. ch. 10. sect. 89. the same provisions are extended to Officers of the Customs.

* The Earl of Orford was first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty and Treasurer of the Navy, that is, as it was then expressed, "he had the direction above and the distribution below." It was charged upon him, that the Auditors refused to pass his accounts, and that he kept large sums in his hands

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, February 17—27. 1699.

The Earl of Portland will send you an alternative, which Count Tallard has proposed to me, touching the Spanish succession, in favour of the duke of Savoy; which is, in his opinion, worse than that in favour of the Archduke. You will perceive in both these alternatives, that France is speculating chiefly how to get Lorraine. I can find no reason why France should be benefited by the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria. It is very difficult for us to discover how to negotiate this great business. If we go upon the proposal in favour of Savoy, it is impossible to negotiate any thing at Vienna; but if we go upon that in favour of the Archduke, the negotiation might be entered on there immediately; but Tallard gives sufficiently to understand, that he is for having the affair arranged with me first, which embarrasses me not a little. I long to receive your opinion thereon.

for his private use, to the prejudice of the public service. The House of Commons took into consideration the state of the navy; and after an examination of the present and past management of naval affairs, they presented to the King an address (April 3. V. S.), concerning certain mismanagements, which were of no great importance: this address was chiefly, though indirectly, levelled against the Earl of Orford.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, March 2. 1699.

I have the honour to inform your Majesty that the House of Commons resolved on Friday last to keep up 15,000 men for the fleet. This resolution appeared favourable to the Court, because it was the only expedient for increasing the number of troops without infringing the bill which has passed for the reduction of the army;—that which relates to this head not having yet been discussed.

I must explain to your Majesty that last year the Parliament granted on this head 10,000 seamen, and 3000 marines; and there was reason to believe that when the House granted 15,000 it would be to increase the number of last year by 2000, and find means to retain the blue guards. But what passed on Saturday showed that this was very far from their intention, since they voted that the 15,000 men granted for the navy should be all seamen, and, far from increasing by 2000 men the number of 3000 which had been granted last year, the said 3000 should be cashiered. This resolution was carried by a majority of only nine votes, and as the bill is to be read again in the House of Commons it may easily happen that a change will be made. There are persons, however, who maintain that no change can now be made, the vote having passed on the report of the committee.

It seems that the King has gained some votes

in the House of Commons, since the opposition, which had one hundred at the commencement of the session, had but nine on this occasion; and, according to all appearance, this prince will again become master of the deliberations in the months of April or May, for men of his party are like regular troops, and consequently obey regularly. They assiduously remain at their post; and the others resemble volunteers, who do not always remain together; but what is unfortunate for him is, that all the capital questions will be decided. He must declare by proclamation on the 1st of March of their style, which is in eight days, what are the troops which are to be disbanded. The reduction is to be made on the 26th, and there are people sufficiently extraordinary and extravagant to say that when this shall be accomplished, the House of Commons will present an address to the King, to beg him to give up the office of Stadtholder, and to go no more to Holland. I consider this language as quite extravagant, and the more so, because as I have just had the honour of observing to your Majesty the party opposed to the Court appears to have decreased considerably in the last division which took place in the House. But what I consider as seditious language this year, may very well become probable next year, should the King cross the sea.

Though the affairs of this country are in this state I must warn your Majesty that if the least circumstance should occur, which inspired them with jealousy, and if means should be found to

persuade them that they ought to be on their guard, the same spirit of liberty and of fickleness which induces them to do all that I have had the honour to intimate to your Majesty, would determine them to give their last penny for their defence, or to prevent what they should believe to be injurious to them.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{February 21.}}{\text{March 3.}}$ 1699.

I approve at once your reasoning upon the conduct to be held in regard to what France has now proposed; and you will have learnt that I have spoken with Count Tallard pretty nearly in conformity to this, but I shall be pressed to declare myself further as I wrote you in my last; and it is certain France will not suffer us to negotiate at Vienna till we have agreed with her about the conditions, and I fear they will relax very little in the proposals they have now made us; and we shall be not a little embarrassed what party to choose. I intend to send the Earl of Portland to-morrow to Count Tallard to speak to him again on this matter, of which I will acquaint you by the next post.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, March 3. 1699.

Your despatch of the 20th of February leaves hardly any doubt that the king of England prefers to every other arrangement the idea which he has to substitute the elector of Bavaria for the late Electoral Prince, and it is principally on this point that you will be quickly informed of my intentions: they are stated in my last despatch. I have acquainted you with all the reasons which I had for believing that the choice which might be made of the elector of Bavaria to take the place of his son, could not be reconciled with the object which I have always had in view; and that it is almost impossible that the measures which I should take on this foundation with the king of England could maintain peace in Europe, in case of the death of the king of Spain.

I will add to all the reasons contained in that letter, that if the king of England should die, or that if some revolution should take place, with which the fickleness and the discontent of the people in his kingdom seem to threaten him, I should be obliged to maintain alone the engagements into which I should have entered for the elector of Bavaria; consequently to make war for a prince who has no title whatever to the Spanish succession, while the Emperor would have had time to get his son recognized as successor to his Catholic Majesty, and thus not only all the states of that monarchy would contribute to support that

arrangement, but it might happen that all the other powers of Europe would unite in the same design.

If the king of England considers what has been done in favour of the Electoral Prince as a pretext to make the Elector, his father, succeed in his place, it may be said, that he does not reflect that this arrangement had been concealed from the Emperor; that it was very uncertain whether he would consent to it; that when the first information of it was carried to Spain, the whole nation had been alarmed at the partition; that, therefore, the treaty of the Hague having given no right to the Electoral Prince, with respect to the Spaniards, can with still less reason be alleged in favour of the elector of Bavaria.

I am willing not to depart from the proposal advanced by the Earl of Portland, but if I should agree that it is sufficient for the repose of Europe, that no prince of the House of Austria shall receive the Spanish succession, it cannot be denied that it is at least necessary, that he who should be chosen may obtain the crown without kindling a fresh war in Christendom. I do not see this, when we cast our eyes for that purpose upon the elector of Bavaria. We should, indeed, have found this entire security for the Elector, if the Electoral Prince could have succeeded to the crown of Spain before his death, and his father would have obtained after him, without difficulty, the portion allotted to that prince by the treaty of the Hague; but things having changed, there seem to be only almost insurmountable obstacles to the project

which might now be formed in favour of the elector of Bavaria.

It is my intention that you shall omit nothing, but clearly explain these circumstances to the king of England. As you have hitherto sincerely stated to him what I thought on an affair of such great importance, you will tell him that I have expressly ordered you to speak with the same candour which is so necessary when the parties act on the same principle, and labour for the same purpose,—the maintenance of general tranquillity; that the more I examine the proposal in favour of the elector of Bavaria, the less conformable I find it to this object, in consequence of the difficulties which oppose its success. In fact, I see no other means to make it succeed, but to induce the Emperor to be content with Milan for the Archduke; to consent to the elevation of the elector of Bavaria, and to the portion of my son; in a word, to subscribe to the treaty of the Hague. It is certain that if the king of England could oblige him to take this resolution, no power being interested in counteracting the measures which have been taken in concert, in favour of the elector of Bavaria, their success would be indubitable; but, if the Emperor does not enter into these views, nothing could be more dangerous than to persist in them, and it would be giving him a certain means, immediately to obtain, from the king of Spain, what he has hitherto required in vain for the Archduke.

When you shall thus have laid before the king of England all the reasons which should hinder the

substitution of the elector of Bavaria for the Electoral Prince, if he still persists in his first idea, notwithstanding all that you will say to him, you will ask him what he thinks of doing to ensure the effects of the new treaty which may be concluded on this basis; if he engages to make the Emperor enter into it, to obtain from him all the acts of renunciation and all the necessary declarations for the security of the conditions which shall have been agreed upon; and if he cannot oblige him to give them, or to subscribe to the treaty, what are the measures which he intends to take, to obtain in that case, the elevation of the elector of Bavaria, which he thinks so conformable to the general peace of Europe.

Whatever that prince may answer to this question you will tell him that you will give me an account of it; that I have pointed out to you the difficulties which I found in substituting the elector of Bavaria for the Electoral Prince; that you must inform me of the expedients which the king of England may have suggested to you, and that you shall not be long before you receive my orders; that those which I have given you hitherto are confined to what you have already told him.

You will therefore show him that I have observed everything that might most contribute to the repose of Europe; that I have not thought fit to comprehend in the portion of my son the states which might give most umbrage to the neighbouring powers; that on the account which you have given me of the objections which the king of England

made to you respecting Milan, I have approved of the idea which you suggested to exchange that state for Lorraine; that all the arguments which you alleged clearly show that this acquisition would in nowise increase my power. You will tell him, at the same time, that when I consent to deprive myself of such a state as the duchy of Milan, solely with the view to the tranquillity of Europe, the same reason would make it necessary to separate the Low Countries from the Spanish monarchy, if that crown falls to the share of the Archduke; that it would not be just, by giving them to that prince, so considerably to strengthen the power of the Emperor; that England, Holland and the Empire are interested in preventing it; that besides, equality ought to be observed as much as possible in the partition of it, since there are now no competitors for the Spanish succession except my son and the Emperor. In short it is not proper, in any manner, that the Low Countries should be united to Spain, if that crown is to belong to the Archduke. You may state to the king of England the different views which may be entertained on the destination of these provinces.

It remains for me to state my intentions on the question which may be asked you, viz.: if the treaty of the Hague still subsists, or whether the engagements entered into by it are broken. It is certain that I have the same intention as I had when that treaty was concluded; that I have the same wish to take measures for the maintenance of the general peace whatever events may occur. The

king of England appears to entertain the same sentiments; thus, the basis of the treaty subsists. Several of its articles do not require any change, because I have still the same desire to maintain the peace of Ryswick, to form a stricter connection with the king of England: lastly, the greater part of what I demand for my son is contained in the treaty of the Hague; it may therefore be considered as subsisting in several essential articles, though it will nevertheless be necessary to change others conformably to the state of affairs which have also changed since it was concluded.

You make just reflections on the embarrassment in which the Prince of Wales would be if King James should die, but there is reason to believe that such an event is still distant, and, if it should happen, I would immediately let you know the resolution which I have taken.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, March 4. 1699.

What has passed in the House of Commons on the subject of the fleet is irrevocable. The 3000 marines granted by the previous Parliament are disbanded. The number of 10,000 seamen which had been kept up last year is increased to 15,000 this year, and the nation persists in resolving to make its safety depend on the fleet, and on the militia, in spite of what the King has represented to them on the subject, both in his speeches and in private conversation.

The bill which has been presented and read once, to prevent any officer of the army from being in future elected member of Parliament, has been modified. All those who served during the last war are excepted, and Majors General and Lieutenants General will be always admissible.

The resolution which has been passed in the House of Commons to present an address to the King, petitioning for the execution of the laws against the Catholics, was carried into effect yesterday. A proclamation is now issued enjoining all the said Catholics to retire to the distance of ten miles from London.* The same thing is done every year whenever the Parliament meets, but I

* The House of Commons, by an address to the King (February 21. O.S.), prompted a proclamation for banishing all Catholic priests and Jesuits, and for putting the laws in execution against Papists, and other disaffected persons. And, as if these laws were not sufficiently effectual, the Commons, in the next session, brought in a bill to prevent the growth of Popery, which readily passed both Houses. The chief provisions were to prevent Catholics from inheriting the estates of their ancestors, which were to pass to the next Protestant heirs; to banish all Catholic priests from the kingdom, and to adjudge them a perpetual imprisonment in case of their return; and to facilitate its execution, a reward of a hundred pounds was offered for each conviction. One of the consequences of these intolerant proceedings was the apprehension of Paul Atkinson, a Franciscan friar, who, in the year 1700, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for performing the functions of a Catholic priest. He was confined in Hurst Castle, co. Southampton, where he died, Oct. 15. 1729, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the *thirtieth* of his imprisonment.

must apprehend that it will be followed up this year more strictly than usual.

There are two opinions on this subject, each of which has some probability. By the one it seems that it is the Court party which has brought forward this proposal, believing that the opposition would reject it through obstinacy, and that they would hence draw an inference against them that they were disaffected to the government and to religion; but on the contrary, it immediately gave its consent.

Others believe that the King has been very glad to have a speech printed in all the papers, filled with expressions of affection to him on the part of the House of Commons, at a time when it does not conduct itself conformably to his views. However this may be, he is gradually regaining votes; and Sir C. Musgrave, who has hitherto been the leader of the opposition, moved yesterday the grant of a subsidy for the subsistence of the army, and said that since they had granted in the preceding year 300,000*l.* for 10,000 men, he thought that they should grant 240,000*l.* this year for the 7000 men that were to be kept up. The grant for the payment of the seamen, and the artillery, and for the fortresses, is fixed at a million sterling.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{February 24.}}{\text{March 6.}}$ 1699.

The Earl of Portland will give you an account by this post of what he said to Count Tallard from me. I think the whole of the business is to endeavour to make France comprehend that they ought not to receive any advantage by the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria; for the negotiation will go on heavily, so long as they lay claim to an augmentation of their portion. And, indeed, it is evident that their only object now is to get Lorraine, by one means or other; and I fear much that they will not give way, particularly when I consider their former conduct, and that the king of France himself said to Lord Jersey, "*qu'il fallait le contenter aussi;*" which is a sign they will persist in their first proposal, as they are used to give way in nothing when they have once made a proposal, but afterwards rather spoil than mend the matter, though they appear to be making new ones; so that we must think upon new expedients for proposing some equivalent, in case they let the negotiation go forward.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, March 7. 1699.

The Earl of Portland came the day before yesterday to tell me from the King, that he had

received the answer from the States-General to the first proposal which I had made to him, that he should not receive an answer to the second, in which the duke of Savoy is included, before Monday or Tuesday next, but that it was so different from the other that he believed he could assure me beforehand that it would not be accepted. He went on to state that the Dutch did not believe that the treaty with the Hague was destroyed; that the general interest of Europe had had a larger share in all that had been done on that occasion than justice; that it was in this view that we had had to think of appointing a successor to the electoral prince of Bavaria, in case of his dying without children; that the Elector, his father, had been chosen for that purpose; that if the event which had just happened, of the decease of that young prince, before that of his Catholic Majesty, had not been very clearly stated in favour of the Elector, it must, however, be acknowledged that it was the general intention that he should obtain the crown of Spain in default of his son.

After that, he however intimated that, considering the treaty literally, it is certain that the engagement entered into was terminated. In a word, he gave me reason to think that the king of England and the States-General are not averse to making a new treaty, but that they would be glad in case this did not succeed, to reserve to themselves the liberty of saying that they have a right to require from us the execution of the treaty of the Hague.

After this, Sire, we came to facts: he said that there were two great powers in Europe, one of which was infinitely more considerable than the other; that the latter, which is that of your Majesty, cannot be increased without disturbing the balance; that the contracting parties had gone as far as they could in adding to your crown the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, Guipuscoa, the places on the coast of Tuscany, and Final; that Lorraine was a province from which great resources might be derived; that besides all these considerations, it was very uncertain whether the duke of Lorraine would consent to exchange his dominions for Milan; that it would be desirable, if possible, to prevent allotting Spain and the Indies to a prince of the House of Austria; but that, as there was no third candidate to whom the succession could be given, it was for the general interest that it should fall into the hands of the Archduke, rather than into those of a French prince; and that his dominions would be so separated from those which his House possesses in Germany, that there would be no reason to conceive too much jealousy.

After using arguments on both sides to support our respective opinions, he told me that there was another article which it would be proper to speak of; this was the manner in which it would be desirable to act towards the Emperor in this affair; that the precarious state of the king of Spain, at the time that the treaty of the Hague was concluded, had induced the king of England to overlook the considerations which he might have had,

respecting that prince, but that it would be very difficult, now that there seemed to be no necessity for regulating without his knowledge what related to his interest; that he believed that it would be proper that all things should be arranged between your Majesty and the king, his master, before making any overture to him, but that nothing could be signed till after he had been induced to agree to what had been regulated by common consent.*

* No further dispatches of Tallard or of Louis XIV. will be printed, with reference to the negotiation of the second treaty of Partition. This negotiation lasted fifteen months, and the discussions only turned on trifling difficulties, which will be sufficiently alluded to in the letters of King William to Heinsius.

"The second treaty of partition was signed at London the 13th of May, 1700, and at the Hague by the deputies of the States-General, the 29th of the same month and year. The Dauphin's share was to consist of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the places on the coast of Tuscany, the islands situated in that sea, and of the province of Guipuscoa, according to the first treaty. To this the second added the duchies of Lorraine and Bar; which the duke of Lorraine agreed to resign, in exchange for the duchy of Milan. If the Emperor acceded to the treaty, it was specified that the Archduke should have Spain, the Indies, and the Low Countries, to his share. By a separate article it was agreed that the Emperor should be allowed three months to consider of it; and that if he did not accept of the partition at the expiration of that term, the allies would settle among themselves what prince they should substitute in the room of the Archduke; an article so much the more important, as the court of Vienna, naturally slow in determining, would defer coming to a resolution if there was the least room to hope for advantage from its dilatoriness, or from any unforeseen event, that might give a turn to the measures set on foot for maintaining the tranquillity of Europe." — *Memoirs of Torcy.*

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{February 28.}}{\text{March 10.}}$ 1699.

I quite approve of your arguments respecting the negotiation with France; in regard to which nothing further is now to be done, till Count Tallard has received an answer from his Court on what has been notified to him by the Earl of Portland.

According to what both you and Sir Joseph Williamson have written to me, it appears to me very doubtful if the negotiations begun with Lillieroot can lead to any result; for I regard as nothing the mere renewal of the existing treaties without any further engagement.* Still I am of opinion that, in the present conjuncture, it is our interest to form as intimate an alliance as possible with Sweden; hence I am of opinion that the negotiations should be pushed on, if it is practicable. I should not be so disinclined to make the declaration demanded by Lillieroot, if he had investigated the proposal made by the mediators in regard to Holstein.

I trust that you are not thinking of giving up the office of Pensionary of Holland. You have filled this important and difficult office most honourably and beneficially for the Republic; and, more especially, it would be impossible for me to

* On the 14th of May, 1698, a preliminary Convention had been concluded between England, the United Provinces, and Sweden; the definitive treaty, to which King William alludes so often in his letters to Heinsius, was signed on the 23d of January, 1700.

praise you too highly for the way in which you have seconded my efforts in behalf of the state. I shall be under eternal obligations to you for it, and you will confer on me an especial obligation in continuing to discharge this important trust.*

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, March 7—17. 1699.

I do not yet know that Count Tallard has received letters from France, touching what the Earl of Portland said to him in my name, so that I have nothing farther to write to you at present; but I approve very highly of your line of argument.

I regret to see that the negotiation begun with Lillieroot goes on so slowly. I can only repeat to you what I said in my former letter, that I attach little value to a mere renewal of the treaties with Sweden without any further engagement. If there was a little less harmony with France with respect

* "The Pensioner of Holland," says Sir William Temple, "is, properly, but minister or servant of the Province, and so his place or rank is behind all their Deputies; but he has always great credit, because he is perpetual, or seldom discharged; though of right he ought to be chosen or renewed every fifth year. He has place in all the several assemblies of the Province, and in the States proposes all affairs, gathers the opinions, and forms or digests the resolutions; pretending likewise a power, not to conclude any very important affair by plurality of voices, when he judges in his conscience he ought not to do it, and that it will be of ill consequence or prejudice to the Province. He is likewise one of their constant Deputies in the States-General."

to the grand affair, we might easily treat with Sweden on that footing; and in that case I should see a greater prospect of success than at present. I suspect Lillieroot is looking more to his own private interest than to every thing else.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, March 10—20. 1699.

I am entirely of your opinion, that Mr. Hop should begin to speak upon the footing you mention, which would give a beginning to the negotiation, and would put it in our power to proceed as far with it as we should think proper; and would hinder France probably from getting beforehand with us, and making us take wrong measures at the court of Vienna. I desire, therefore, you will write immediately to Mr. Hop upon this footing. We will in the mean time go on here with Tallard, and advance the business as much as possible.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, March 14—24. 1699.

The Earl of Portland will inform you circumstantially of what has further passed between Count Tallard and him; by which you will see it appears to be the ultimatum of France in the above

partition, to have Navarre or Lorraine for the Dauphin; so that I think we must soon determine whether we will treat upon this footing, and afterwards begin the negotiation at Vienna. For I do not believe that France is to be brought any further at this juncture, and it is difficult to determine what to do next. I should be glad to have your sentiments thereon immediately.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, March 21—31. 1699.

I refer you to what the Earl of Portland will write you concerning what has been brought before him by Count Tallard. The whole turns upon what I wrote in my former letter, that, unless the exchange of Milan for Lorraine is granted to France, nothing will come of this negotiation; so that I am not a little embarrassed, considering the difficulties on all sides, and the bad situation of affairs here, which I must necessarily attend to.

Last Saturday I desired to make a new attempt in the House of Commons *, to see if they would not

* On the 18th of March King William sent Lord Ranelagh, paymaster of the forces, with the following message to the House of Commons: "His Majesty is pleased to let the House know that the necessary preparations are made for transporting the guards who came with him into England; and that he intends to send them away immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the House be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his Majesty would take very kindly."

Upon reading this message, the question was put, that a day

have sufficient respect for me to agree to keep my Dutch guards a little longer in the pay of the kingdom. But this attempt has had the opposite effect, and the House has resolved to send me a very impertinent address on the subject.* Hence these troops must embark this week.

be appointed to consider of his Majesty's said message. But it was carried in the negative, and resolved, "that a committee be appointed to draw up an humble address to be presented to his Majesty, representing the reasons why the House cannot comply with the purport of his Majesty's message this day communicated to the House." This address was accordingly prepared, and delivered on March 24.

"We have had a very particular business in the House to-day. The King having sent a message to try whether the Dutch guards would be allowed to remain here, nobody that heard of it could imagine that it would have any effect. However, his Majesty would have it attempted, but for what reasons I cannot tell. Mr. Harley, who was one that opposed appointing any day to take it into consideration, said that the delivery of such a message gave him much trouble of thought, more than he could express. He added, satirically, that he acquitted the ministers from having any hand in it; at least, those of them who were members; for if they had desired the continuance of the Dutch here, they would have proposed it when they had so many opportunities of doing it regularly, and with greater prospect of success, while the Disbanding Bill was depending in the House." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* March 18. O. S. 1699.

* The address of the Commons was indeed very impertinent. They represented in it, "that the act for disbanding the army gave great satisfaction to the subjects; and his Majesty's readiness to comply with the punctual execution of it would prevent all occasions of distrust and jealousy between him and his people; that it was an unspeakable grief to them that his Majesty should be advised to propose anything in his

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{March 31.}}{\text{April 10.}}$ 1699.

I had forgotten in my last to reply to you on the difference that has arisen at Vienna with the Marquis de Villars.* I am of opinion that neither the States nor myself ought to mix ourselves up in that business, for, in my opinion, it is the Imperialists that are wrong; and it appears from

message to which they could not consent with due regard to that constitution which his Majesty came here to restore, and had so often exposed his royal person to preserve; that in duty to his Majesty, and to discharge the trust reposed in them, they craved leave to lay before his Majesty that nothing conduces more to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom than an entire confidence between his Majesty and his people, which could no way be so firmly established as by intrusting his sacred person with his own subjects."

* Louis Hector, Marquis de Villars, Marshal of France, created Duke and Peer after the victory of Denain, was born at Moulins, in 1653. In his youth he served under Condé, Luxembourg, and took part in several campaigns in Flanders and Germany, during the early career of Louis XIV. After the peace of Nimeguen he spent ten years in diplomatic employments, chiefly in Germany. In 1698 he was sent as ambassador extraordinary to Vienna, where he remained until the war of succession broke out.

The difference which King William alludes to, was purely a quarrel of etiquette, which was not adjusted till after three months' parleyings, during which period all diplomatic relations were suspended between the cabinet of Versailles and the court of Vienna, although Villars did not quit his post. Full particulars may be seen in the Memoirs which were drawn up by Auquetil from the papers of Villars.

letters received from France that this ambassador has been already recalled.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, April 4—14. 1699.

The Earl of Portland will acquaint you with the answer Count Tallard has received from France, relative to those points delivered to him in my name. He has asked an audience of me, which I cannot grant him before Monday, to repeat to me what he told the Earl of Portland this morning; and, as he refuses all those points, and I am resolved to insist on them, I do not know what will come of this negotiation, though I can hardly believe that France will now break off. The two essential points are Final, and assenting to the Archduke's going to Spain. One would hardly suppose that they would remain firm with regard to the first; but I greatly doubt whether they will consent to the last, for they can allege many reasons which appear very plausible.

I saw Count Aversberg * to-day, without, however, talking of business. I think that it would be desirable for Mr. Hop to commence his negotiation at Vienna, by way of gaining time, without entering too much into detail. I do not suppose that it is opposed or even could be prejudicial to the negotiations now going on here with France.

* Count Aversberg was ambassador of the Emperor to William III.

As for the negotiations with Lillieroot, there is nothing to be hoped for, unless the grand affair can be arranged with France. In that case I am well convinced that Sweden would accede to them.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Newmarket, April 17—27. 1699.

I did not receive, till this morning, your letter of the 25th, from Windsor Park. I enclose the letters which I have received from the Pensionary, since I have been here, in order that you may answer them by to-morrow's post, if you think that there is any subject on which it is necessary to give him information. I do not doubt that, by my return, Count Tallard will have received an answer, or at least a few days afterwards; but I much doubt whether you will be able to settle matters with him in one conference. It is certain that the greatest difficulty will be Final.

I hope to find you to-morrow evening at Kensington, entirely recovered from your cold. I have been in pretty good health, though the weather has been extremely cold, but the sport has been very moderate. It is impossible to love you more tenderly than I do.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, April 20—30. 1699.

I had hoped that I should find you here on my return yesterday evening. Count Tallard told me

this morning that he had received an answer to what you had told him from me: it is, therefore, necessary that you should come here to-morrow to continue this negotiation, which you know is of too great importance to be made known. I assure you also that I am very impatient to see you again, and that I am yours as ever.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, May 2. 1699.

Lord Portland has not yet returned.* D'Alonne has set out for Windsor to-day, to try to bring him back. He appears to be exceedingly obstinate, whatever advances may be made to him. This morning I attended the levee of the King, who did not speak to me of any thing relating to the matters of which he knows I have to give him an account. I shall allow a day or two to elapse before saying a word, to see whether or not Lord Portland will return.

I have had the honour to give an account to your Majesty of what passed in Parliament with regard to the four regiments of marines, the for-

* "I meet with a report as if my Lord Portland were out of humour again, and was going off. I don't understand the bottom of it, but I suppose it is a spice of the old jealousy against my Lord Albemarle's increasing favour. I hear my Lord Portland goes to Windsor instead of Newmarket, and talks of preparing for a further retreat." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* April 8. O. S. 1699.

feitures in Ireland *, and the affair of the Duke of Ormond.† It now remains for me to speak of some circumstances which relate to these facts, and to the position of the Earl of Portland. With respect to the first point, this new attack of the House of Commons, at the time when the Parliament was thought to be ended, is attributed to its vexation at the King having been to dine with Lord Orford in the country; and to the fresh jealousy which it has conceived, that that prince has resolved to have the Duke of Ormond commanded by a Dutchman. No affair has ever made more noise than this. The people are as much interested in it as the men of quality, and one cannot help confessing that it would have been more prudent in the King to have foreseen the difficulties which have arisen, than to remedy them in the manner that has been done.

* The bill applying the Irish forfeitures to the public service passed by the House of Commons in the preceding session, was lost in the Lords. It was feared that a similar proceeding now would have the same issue; and to guard against this, a clause, appointing commissioners of inquiry into Irish forfeitures, "in order to their being applied in ease of the subjects of England," was inserted by the Commons in their Land-tax bill for the year. The Lords could not alter a money bill; they passed it with the obnoxious clause, and a protest, by nine Peers, against the artifice of the Commons. The King was thus forced to give it his assent.

† "March 30. The King, preferring his young favourite the Earl of Albemarle to be first commander of his guard, the Duke of Ormond laid down his commission. This of the Dutch lord passing over his head was exceedingly resented by everybody. — May 7. The Duke of Ormond restored to his commission." — *Evelyn's Diary.*

All that has passed this year in Parliament and the discontent of several lords, have so weakened the royal authority that there is hardly any more attention paid to it. In the interior of the kingdom, all things are at a stand: nothing is decided, since a certain time, but by Act of Parliament. When any thing is regulated in this manner, persons are appointed to execute it, and these people remain, as it were, independent, for the King cannot send them orders contrary to their first mission; the Secretary of State would not venture to sign them: they are, therefore, masters of the interpretation, and every thing is in such a mess in this country that no one knows to whom to apply on the slightest matter, and there is no one in office who will regulate or decide, or sign any thing whatever.

I will do myself the honour to state to your Majesty a fact which took place the other day, and which is pleasant enough, and proves what I have just said. The publicans, with whom the soldiers and officers and the regiment of marines, whose destiny was uncertain, were quartered, gave notice to those who lodged with them, that they had nothing to do but to go about their business, and that they no longer recognised them as regular troops, since they had been cashiered by vote of Parliament. Observe, Sire, if you please, that a vote has no effect till after it has passed the House of Lords and has been approved by the King. The officers said to this, that they asked time to write to Mr. Blathwayt, who is the Secretary at War, and who issues the orders for the march of the troops.

They accordingly applied to him. Mr. Blathwayt answered that he had nothing to do with that corps, and that they should apply to the Admiralty. They went there. The Admiralty answered, that they had nothing to do with troops belonging to the land service, and that they might address themselves to Mr. Vernon. Mr. Vernon sent them back to Mr. Blathwayt; and this is the way in all sorts of affairs.

In short, things are come to such a pass that all persons who are in office are trembling, and till the session of the Parliament is closed there is no hope of being able to advance a step in any thing that is wanted to be done, of whatever nature soever.

A member of the House of Commons, one who enjoys most credit, and belongs to the Board of Trade, lately waited upon M. d'Argout, who is here with M. d'Herbault, to tell him that they saw very clearly that the Court did not wish the trade to be re-established with France; that it was from private reasons, against the interests of the nation, and that if we would be reasonable they would form a cabal to propose that things should be placed on a footing which might suit both nations, and that assuredly they would obtain what they proposed.

M. d'Argout gave me an account of this. I told him to see this member again; to speak to him, as from himself, without letting him suspect that it was with my participation, and to tell him that it would be desirable that trade should be placed on another footing between France and England; the

more so since it was impossible that they should go further asunder; that we had not made any change on the duty on goods which had been levied before the war; that they had quadrupled all theirs, and that it could not be doubted that after having given them time for reflection, on the inequality of trade to our disadvantage, we should resolve to put every thing brought from England to France on the same footing as they had done on what is brought from France to England.

The member replied that it seemed to be just to replace matters on both sides, on the same footing as before the war, saving afterwards to change, in concert, what might be judged proper; that in order to succeed in this, he asked for a tariff of the duties which were at present levied on their goods, and those which were levied in 1688; in order that they might undeceive those who had suffered themselves to be impressed with an opinion that their goods were more heavily taxed than ours. Since that time, Sire, he has again called on M. d'Argout, to tell him that Parliament was so near its close, that it would be impossible to concert all that was to be done on the subject before it broke up, but that assuredly their cabal would succeed in the next Parliament; and it is true that this man, and what is called the country party, proceed so securely, that the other day, without waiting for an answer, they proposed that the duties on French wines should be taken off; but the Court party, which begins to get the upper hand, in consequence of the departure of the county members, who have

returned home, hindered it, saying, that good faith must be preserved; that these duties were allotted to the payment of the loans which had been made, and that they must not be touched. They even went still further; they proposed to increase the duties on brandy. The matter was debated for more than four hours. At length the Court party got the better, and the duty was imposed, at least the bill prescribing it has been read twice. I almost venture to assure your Majesty that the session will open with petitions for re-establishing the commerce with France, and to render it more necessary for them to take this step, it will be proper to do what I had the honour to point out to M. de Pontchatrain.

I believe that the jealousy which the King of England here feels of him who has retired to St. Germains is the principal reason which makes him anxious to check the commerce with France; that the arrival of vessels being less frequent, it may be more easy for me to discover who goes or comes.

Lord Portland is always at the Lodge at Windsor, viz. a small house in the park, a couple of miles from Windsor, and a present from his royal master. It is not a national cabal that desires to drive him back to Holland. It is himself that is desirous to withdraw. The King kindly does every thing in his power to detain him. Every offer is made him for himself and his family: he is promised considerable rewards. Never shall he meet with the Earl of Albemarle in anything that might cause him annoyance. But hitherto all this had

not moved him. The day before yesterday, d'Alonne was sent to him as a last resource: if he does not succeed, it is said that the King will go to Windsor to-morrow or the day after, to speak to him himself; and people assure me that Lord Albemarle is among those who most eagerly desire that he would stay, in order that he himself may not solely and chiefly be exposed to the jealousy of the English. I try always to keep on good terms with both, and have hitherto succeeded. Still it is a game that will be somewhat difficult in the long run.

The Duke of Shrewsbury has been to Newmarket, and the King has treated him with great distinction, and he appeared to be on good terms at Court. However, if he does not accept the Vice-royalty of Ireland, no reliance must be placed upon these outward appearances.* The Duke of Bolton, lately Marquis of Winchester, one of the Lords Justices of that country, has returned, because his father is just dead. There remains, therefore, only Lord Galway; and one person can do nothing. The Archbishop of Dublin has been appointed in the room of the former; but it is only

* "There is no doubt your Grace will be pressed to come into some share of the administration, and if you would accept of it, it would give universal satisfaction. Ireland has been spoken of, as believing you would have the least exception to it. The Chamberlain's office does certainly require more attendance and town residence than may be fit at present for your uncertain state of health."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* April 6. O.S. 1699.

given him ad interim, according to custom, which always gives it to him who holds that Archbishopric; and the Duke of Bolton will return, unless it is determined to appoint one sole Viceroy.

The Duke of Devonshire is discontented. He intends, it is said, to resign the office of Lord Steward which he now fills. Some time ago he addressed a very bold speech to the King on the following occasion. He has two sons in the House of Commons, the Marquis of Hartington and Lord Henry Cavendish. Both of them spoke vehemently against augmenting the number of the forces. It is said that the King called him into his cabinet, and that, on his making him some reproaches, he replied, that they advanced nothing but what was reasonable, nothing but what he would have said himself if he had been in their place, and which his Majesty is not permitted to do.

It is likewise believed that Lord Wharton will resign the office of Comptroller of the Household: he wished to be Secretary of State, and Lord Jersey got the place.* He is the principal friend of the Duke of Shrewsbury, and at the head of the Presbyterians.

* On May 14th, the Earl of Jersey, lately returned from his embassy at the court of France, was appointed Secretary of State. The Earl of Manchester succeeded Lord Jersey at the French court. A few days afterwards, on the 18th, the King declared the Earl of Pembroke Lord President of the Council, in the room of the Duke of Leeds, who was dismissed; and receiving the Privy Seal from Lord Pembroke, delivered it to the Viscount Lonsdale.

A report is spread that the King wished to make Lord Lonsdale High Treasurer, that is to say, to put himself into the hands of the Episcopalians; but it is believed that he will make this change only gradually, by placing persons who are not attached to either of the two parties, and that it is this reason which has hindered him from consenting that Mr. Montagu should leave the finance department, from which he has a great desire to be released.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{April 25.}}{\text{May 4.}}$ 1699.

I regret to be obliged to inform you that the Earl of Portland has at length retired, and that nothing was able to prevent him. After much labour I have only succeeded in inducing him to continue the negotiations with Tallard. I cannot tell you how much this annoys me, especially after doing on my side every thing at all reasonable to give satisfaction to the Earl of Portland; but he was resolved that blind jealousy should prevail over all that ought to have been dear to him.*

* "My Lord Portland came to Kensington on Sunday last in the afternoon, which was unexpected to most people. He was with the King in his closet after the Cabinet Council was up, and has lain at London these two nights. He has been very pressing to deliver up his key; but I think he is consenting to keep it for some time longer at least. He has been with the

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, May 5. 1699.

Lord Portland returned hither yesterday morning at 9 o'clock. I began to talk to him about his retirement. He gave me to understand that it was not over, and that he was about to return to Windsor, where he invited me to pay him a visit; that he was only come at the special request of the King; that he would devote himself to the consummation of the important business in which we are engaged together, and which was too far advanced to be transferred to other hands. He added that he had given way to this argument; but that his mind was made up, and that he would no longer take part in any business.

While they were making a copy of my letter, Lord Portland again came in, saying that it was to take leave, and that he was going to Windsor. I talked with him on the subject of his retirement. The result is, that he resigns his post, and will no

King this morning, and is gone this evening to Windsor."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* April 25. O. S. 1699.

"Upon his return from France," says Burnet, "the Earl of Portland could not bear the visible superiority in favour, that the other (Albermarle) was grown up to; so he took occasion, from a small preference that was given him, in prejudice of his own post, as groom of the stole, and upon it withdrew from the court, and laid down all his employments. The King used all possible means to divert him from this resolution, but without prevailing on him: he consented to serve the King still in his affairs, but he would not return to any post in the household."

longer take part in public affairs. It appears that it is his intention to settle in England, and that he will only make a short tour in Holland this summer. He has given me a pressing invitation to visit him at his country seat: of this I will avail myself in a short time, for I cannot think that at last matters will not be made up.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{April 28.}}{\text{May 7.}}$ 1699.

I calculate that towards the middle of next week this miserable session of Parliament will terminate: not to speak of their having inflicted on me a mass of impertinences, and of their having, so to speak, despoiled the kingdom of its entire military force, they have not even voted the wherewithal to supply the taxes that were granted, nor a single farthing to discharge any kind of debt; so that credit is gone. Hence you can fancy what confusion must prevail in all this, and the impossibility of finding a remedy.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{April 28.}}{\text{May 7.}}$ 1699.

Not to enter into a long dispute with you, on the subject of your retirement, I will say nothing

to you about it, but I cannot help expressing my extreme grief at it, which is greater than you can imagine; and I am convinced that if you felt half as much, you would soon change your resolution. May God in his kindness inspire you, for your good and my repose,—at least I hope that you will not refuse to keep the key, since I am satisfied that that will not oblige you to any thing. Further, I conjure you to come and see me as often as you can, which will be a great consolation to me, in the affliction which you cause me, not being able to help loving you most tenderly as before.

The ambassador of France has been to see me yesterday, and took the opportunity of telling me, with all possible assurances, that France would never give up the point of Final, and that he did not expect any answer. Thus I see plainly that there is nothing to be hoped for, and that we must come to a conclusion on the point. I leave it to your consideration to wait for the answer of the Pensionary, or whether it would be proper to speak to him before. I think to be at Windsor at the end of next week, where I hope to see you, and where we can discuss this matter if you do not think that it would be better that you should first have a conference with Count Tallard, who appears to be very desirous for the conclusion of the affair, and says that it will not be possible any longer to refuse the proposals in Spain, which I take for a threat. According to all the letters from that country the health of the king is very

precarious, which may oblige us to finish the negotiation the sooner.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Monday, 7 o'clock in the evening, $\frac{\text{April.}}{\text{May.}}$ 1699.

I find it very difficult to resolve upon renouncing Final: if you think there is no hope of keeping it, and that it would be better to propose the expedient of which I spoke to you this morning, namely, that France should engage not to make it a sea-port for ships of war, you may detain the courier of the French ambassador, otherwise let him go. I can protest that I do not know that I ever offered him the island of Sardinia for Final; I cannot imagine how Tallard could have taken it into his head.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, May 1—11. 1699.

It is not possible to express my surprise, nor how sensibly I have been affected by the letter which you have written to me this morning. I do not mean at present to enter into detail, nor to answer you about it, but I cannot help telling you that the welfare and the repose of all Europe may depend upon the negotiation which you have in hand with Count Tallard, and that you cannot be

ignorant that while I am in England, I cannot employ in it any person but you, and that it is impossible, and even contrary to my dignity, that this negotiation should be carried on between him and me. I hope, therefore, that, when you have seriously reflected, you will return here, to finish, if possible, this important affair; for the rest I refer to what d'Alonne will say to you from me.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, May 3—13. 1699.

After dinner I received a note from Vernon, and Count Tallard having been here till I sat down to table, without saying any thing to me, I doubt whether this news is true, unless he has had orders to conceal it, which you may doubtless learn from him if he goes to dine with you to-morrow, as he has written to you. If this unhappy news be true, we can no longer hesitate to give up Final. But, in this conjuncture, I do not know whether France would be disposed to abide by the conditions on which you are nearly agreed. If the thing is not true, and you find, however, to-morrow, that he strongly urges the conclusion of the treaty, you may propose to him the expedient concerning Final, of which I have spoken to you, namely, not to make it a sea-port for large men-of-war, as coming from yourself, and that you will make the proposal to me, when you see me to terminate this affair.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, May 5—15. 1699.

I flatter myself that I shall hear from you by the first post what is the state of the negotiation with Lillieroot; hence I will not write you a word upon the subject, except only to say that it appears to me that the only aim of Sweden is to obtain the guarantee of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, which might one day draw us into a war or a quarrel with Denmark.

At last this sad session is at an end, and I intend, please God, to leave for Holland at the beginning of next month: God knows how I long for that moment. I have not yet informed any one of my intention; but this does not prevent all the world from talking about it already.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, May 15. 1699.

The Earl of Portland is continually at Windsor. The King has informed him that he might do whatever he pleased; that he might retain at pleasure any business he had in hand, or resign his offices if he pleased; that the King would accept his resignation to please him; but that he would never agree to his living where he pleased, and that in a word he loved him, and would continue to do so.* Lord

* "M. d'Alonne told me yesterday that he was newly arrived from Windsor, and had brought up my Lord Portland's key.

Portland replied, that the circumstances that had been found to cause him annoyance in his public career would never for a moment interfere with his sincere personal attachment to the King; and that he should be very sorry if there was any one in existence who could supersede him in the affection he cherished towards him; but that he cannot remain at Court nor retain his appointment if he leaves it; that if it should appear desirable to Parliament, the States-General, or any body else, he would go every where; but that he cannot undertake any thing dependent on the future, beyond the affairs of France, which he begs his master to leave to him. The King informed him that he would agree to it all. He is going to Windsor to-morrow; and I know that he will invite Lord Portland to dine with him on Monday. There is every prospect of its being all made up. Your Majesty will perhaps be surprised how particulars of this kind, which should be secret, came to my knowledge; nevertheless I assure you that they are true.

His Majesty having yielded to his importunities, had given him leave to resign it, which he says my Lord received with great joy, and large professions of zeal and fidelity; and the same readiness to serve his Majesty in what he shall command him. So I presume he will keep the Lodge and the superintending of the gardens."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* March 2. O. S. 1699.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Windsor, May 12—22. 1699.

I shall refer you to what the Earl of Portland shall write you concerning the negotiation with Tallard. I think Mr. Hop should be ordered to open the negotiation at Vienna, by showing that it will be impossible, in case the king of Spain should die, to prevent France from taking possession of that entire monarchy; and consequently that it is the interest of all Europe, and of us in particular, to prevent a war; and the only means of doing so is to accede to a partition of the Spanish succession. The negotiation should be opened upon this ground, and you will be best able to judge how to instruct Mr. Hop.

It is not possible to pay a farthing to anybody, considering the state in which Parliament has left me, as I have already informed you; hence, neither Munster nor any other prince may look for any thing from me.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, May 25. 1699.

Lord Portland still persists in occupying his rangership at Windsor. The King had thought that the complaisance he had shown him, in expressing his desire that he would resume his key, would have determined him to keep it; but in spite of all this, he has resigned it. The King,

who has sent him here to speak to me, took the opportunity, while he was in London, of seeing his sister, his children, and his house; he paid them all kinds of courtesies; but all this has been of no avail with Lord Portland. On his return, the King said that he would take the diversion of the chase. He seized an instant to pay his respects, and then returned to his own house. In a word, his position has not yet taken a definite form, and it is very difficult to understand any thing of all that is going on with reference to him, both on the King's part and his own.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, May 16—26. 1699.

I received yesterday your letter of the 22d, and learnt from it what has passed at Vienna, in conference with Mr. Hop. It appears that the ministry there speak quite at their ease, and would have us make war for them, in case of the king of Spain's death. In my opinion, it will be necessary for Mr. Hop to open himself a little farther, and begin to mention a partition, with the reasons that render it necessary; for, to all appearance, the negotiation here with Tallard will soon be at an end. I also intend to speak to Count Aversberg in the same style, in order to advance the work as much as possible; for the period of three months and a half will be very short for settling everything.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, May 19—29. 1699.

I have spoken with Count Aversberg this morning, and told him I was inclined to take measures with the Emperor for preventing a war in case of the king of Spain's death; and showed him at large the impossibility of carrying it on at present against France with any hopes of success, and that I did not know any better means to propose for preventing a French prince's succeeding to the crown of Spain, than to endeavour to come to an agreement with France herself about the succession; and for this end it was necessary to treat with Mr. Hop at Vienna upon it. He undertook to write about it, and appeared to approve the affair. During our conversation, he said he believed the Emperor would agree to a partition, but that we were as much interested as they in France's not becoming too powerful, particularly in Italy, as it would affect us more with regard to our commerce. You will make use of this conversation for Mr Hop's information, that he may take his measures accordingly, and you will instruct him further as you may judge necessary, for the advancement of this negotiation.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{May 22.}}{\text{June 2.}}$ 1699.

The Earl of Portland will inform you how the negotiation with Tallard stands. Your sentiments upon the extending of the treaty are expected with impatience. I have fixed my departure from hence for Friday se'ennight*, and I pray God may grant me a favourable passage.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Kensington, June 1—11. 1699.

I have not written to you all this winter, by reason of my vexation at what passed in Parliament, and because of the uncertainty I was under to know what to send you. It is not possible to be

* "The King has ordered me to write to the Admiralty, that his convoy and yacht may be got ready by the middle of next week, he holding his resolution to go on Friday se'night. I wish he may leave people satisfied and in good humour, but there is no great appearance of it at present." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* May 23. O. S. 1699.

A few days before his departure, on May 31., the King declared in council that, intending to go to Holland for a short time, he had appointed to be Lords Justices of England, during his absence, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Marlborough, Mr. Montagu, Lord Lonsdale, the Earl of Bridgewater, and the Earl of Jersey. The three last were put in the room of the Lords Dorset, Romney, and Orford, which were in the commission of the preceding year.

more sensibly touched than I am, at my not being able to do more for the poor refugee officers, who have served me with so much zeal and fidelity. I am afraid the good God will punish the ingratitude of this nation.

I could hardly get the estimates of Ireland passed, as it will be sent you; there are retrenchments which I was forced to make, though I like them not; and, doubtless, some of them must be changed. The Duke of Bolton seems pleased with you, but not with the Chancellor (Methuen). I have this day despatched a new commission for the Lords Justices of Ireland, by joining, with the Duke of Bolton and you, the Earl of Berkeley, who is an easy man, and will be agreeable to you.

I am perfectly satisfied with your conduct, and hope now you will be left undisturbed, since in the last Parliament nothing was said of you, though you were much threatened. I fear the commission given here by the Commons, for the inspection of the forfeitures*, will give you a great deal of trouble, and me no less, the next winter; assuredly, on all sides, my patience is put to the trial. I am going to breathe a little beyond sea, in order to come back as soon as possible. I think it for my service to change the commission of the Treasury in Ireland, where I doubt the revenue is not well

* Of the seven Commissioners of inquiry into the Irish grants chosen in the House of Commons by the ballot, only three of them were Whigs, *i. e.* in the interest of the court. "When I told the King last night of the commission," wrote Vernon, April 20. O. S., "he did not like it at all."

managed; of which it is necessary that you let me know your sentiments immediately. The estimates of the next year must absolutely be reduced, that my ordinary revenue may serve to pay it; and a Parliament in Ireland must not be thought of so soon. Of this you ought instantly to consider, and take your measures for the future. Be always assured of my friendship.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, June 26. 1699.

I infer from your letter of the 24th that nothing of importance will result from the negotiation with Lillieroot, since he insists so positively on some unreasonable pretensions, as with respect to the subsidies to be furnished when we are at war, besides the recall of the Swedish troops, whom we shall have maintained at our own cost. I am quite of your opinion, that we must not break off this negotiation, to have in future the means of forcing Sweden to enter into the guarantee of the treaties which might be made between the Emperor and France. I am very glad that the second term of the negotiation has been resolved on.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Dieren, June 28. 1699.

Yesterday I received the annexed letter from the Earl of Portland, which is in substance the

same he wrote you. The exchange of the convention with France might be made by him and Count Tallard at the Hague, or by you in his absence; and Henning shall send you the instrument for that purpose. I could wish that Count Tallard came here as seldom as possible, not to give any umbrage; and I desire you to say so from me. I think the French are in the right not to make any proposals about Lorraine, till the negotiation with the Emperor is farther advanced, which you may tell both to Bonrepos and Tallard. It is curious that in France they repudiate what Bonrepos must have said to you respecting my affairs.

You will have seen from my letter of Friday last, that I have no intention to break off the negotiation with Lillieroot. You may assure him that Williamson's departure will throw no obstacle in the way, though I have no notion that any thing will come of this negotiation. It will be desirable that Lillieroot should write to Sweden, asking for further instructions. It will be so much time gained, and we shall be able in the interval to see what we are to look for from the negotiations in Vienna.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, July 6. 1699.

I am glad Mr. Hop has begun the negotiation at Vienna, and that it does not appear to have made any bad impression at first. The time is certainly short for expediting this great work; and

therefore France should have made no difficulties to put off the time, inasmuch as this cannot take place without prejudice to them.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, July 14. 1699.

You have done very well to write to Hop to complain of the delays at Vienna. I only fear lest they should occasion the conclusion of this great work without them; not from the difficulty of the work, nor because they will not accept the conditions, but merely because the ministry there cannot come to any decided steps.

Yesterday I received another express from the elector of Bavaria, who is greatly alarmed at what is going on at Madrid, and that the ministry push him so hard, and are for taking the government of the Spanish Netherlands from him.* We must now consider whether or not it is our interest to support him in the government, and in what manner.

* "The new ministers are very pressing upon the King to send away all the Queen's creatures; and if she goes on to oppose it, they threaten her with a convent. They design sending the Marquis de Leganez to the government of Flanders." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* June 20. O. S. 1699.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Dieren, July 17. 1699.

By my last you have seen my anxiety at the delays at the court of Vienna, in which I am confirmed by yours of May 14th; I think you have written very properly to Hop, and I also am pleased with the answer you have given to Bonrepos. I think his object was only curiosity, or perhaps to begin the negotiation at the Hague, which he ardently wishes for.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Dieren, July 18. 1699.

This morning I received your letter of yesterday; and having examined Mr. Hop's letter to you, with your answer, and also what you farther propose writing to him, I approve it entirely; and also that you should speak to Bonrepos on that footing next Monday; and if Tallard comes to me at Loo to-morrow, which I hear he will, I shall talk to him in the same style. There is only one point, on which I know not whether France has declared herself positively, whether her share of the Spanish succession is to go to the Dauphin, or one of his sons? though I doubt not but it is for the Dauphin, in order to annex it to the crown of France.

I begin now to have better hopes of the negotiation; but I am always apprehensive of the irresolution of the court of Vienna.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, July 24. 1699.

Count Aversberg was with me yesterday, and said in substance the very same that Count Goes * and he had said to you. I answered in general terms, that I was glad to find the Emperor inclined to come to an accommodation, which I looked upon as very necessary at present, considering the situation of affairs, and the very dangerous state of the king of Spain's health; that I would willingly learn what would content France in the succession, and give Mr. Hop information of every thing. I thought it better to enter into no farther particulars with him, having learned from experience that his narrative of affairs is not always very exact. I advised him earnestly to insist on speedy resolutions at his court; for that their ordinary delays would be insupportable on the present occasion.

I did not think proper to speak about the place of the negotiation, for had I mentioned the Hague it would have been thought I proposed it; and Count Tallard, who was here, having told me he had positive orders to declare that France would not negotiate at Vienna, but at the Hague, I think you had best say so to Aversberg and Goes. I did tell the former, that, as the affair was so pressing, he should write to his court to send him and Goes full power to treat. For my part it is indifferent

* Count Goes was minister of the Emperor at the Hague.

which is the place, though the Hague would be the most convenient. The idea, however, strikes me, whether it might not go on quicker at Vienna, as the ministry there, being able to speak to the Emperor every day, might determine much sooner, than by sending orders to their ministers at the Hague; but, however, if France will not have it otherwise, it must be so.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, July 27. 1699.

I am of opinion with you that we must wait for the court of Vienna's answer to Hop's proposal, before we speak of the place of negotiation. In the meanwhile, it is necessary you should press Count Aversberg and Goes to procure speedy resolutions from their court, and full powers to treat. I have spoken to Count Aversberg about it. Count Tallard was with me yesterday, but did not speak of business, which I wonder at. He went away in the evening, saying he expected a courier, and would come again. As he did not desire to speak to me, I thought I ought not to enter into conversation with him, having nothing particular to say.

If M. Lillieroot receives further instructions, it will be desirable for you to try to prolong matters with him still further. It will then be easy for me to authorise some one to conclude, for I have not the least intention to break off the negotiation.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Loo, August 14. 1699.

In reply to your inquiry about passing the three grants which I made before leaving England, viz., to Scrabemoer, Larue et Ash, it is necessary that you should get them passed as soon as you can, as they were given before the act of the English parliament which appointed that fine commission which I doubt not will occasion me much vexation and mortification next winter, for it has no other object; and I see from the proceedings of the commissioners that they will carry out admirably the purpose for which they have been sent.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, August 16. 1699.

The orders which Goes and Aversberg have received, appear to me to be a mere trick to gain time; thinking, at the same time, that England and Holland are most inclined for the Indies, on account of their commerce, and that they will therefore give more attention to them than to Italy. I do not know of any thing to add to what you have answered, and what you intend to write to Hop to-morrow. This confirms me more and more in my opinion, that the ministry at Vienna are for being forced; which to me is an incomprehensible policy, and will embarrass us much.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. BLATHWAYT.*

Paris, August 17. 1699.

I had yesterday my private audience of this King, when I assured him of the great esteem the king my master has for his person, and of his firm resolution to preserve the peace and good correspondence established between the two crowns. Then for myself, I declared the profound respect I had for his Majesty, and that I should second the king my master's good intentions, for preserving and increasing such an understanding, by doing all the good offices that might contribute thereto, whilst I had the honour of residing here. To this the King answered in general terms, that he always had, and should continue to have, a great esteem for the king my master, that he would seek all opportunities of strengthening the good cor-

* Charles Montagu, fourth Earl of Manchester, had been one of the few Englishmen whom the Prince of Orange let into the views of his expedition. Whilst the prince was landing, he raised a number of horse in Huntingdonshire, which secured that county for his highness. He was among the peers who voted for the vacancy of the throne, and for filling it with the Prince and Princess of Orange. In 1690, he went with King William to Ireland. In 1697, Lord Manchester was appointed ambassador to the republic of Venice. On his return the next year, he was admitted to the privy council; and on the 30th of May, 1699, declared ambassador extraordinary to Louis XIV., but he only arrived in France on the 5th of August. He was created a duke by George I. in 1719. — Mr. Blathwayt was Secretary-at-war.

respondence established between them for their mutual interest, and that I should be a witness of it, whilst I staid here. He was pleased to declare that I was agreeable to him, that he would always give me access to his person, and favourably hear any matters I had to propose from the king my master.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Dieren, August 21. 1699.

I am very sorry to see how little inclination there is at Vienna to come to an accommodation on the Spanish succession, and it is but too clear that we shall be forced in the end to come to a separate treaty with France, of which I have always been extremely apprehensive. However, I must wish that the time for treating were prolonged, which would not be contrary to the interests of France, or of any detriment to her; only that she will be very glad that we should force the Emperor, by a separate treaty, to consent to what we shall agree upon, which I would avoid if it were possible, or at least defer, as long as may be. It will therefore be necessary for you again to urge the ambassador of France to get the term prolonged.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Dieren, August 21. 1699.

It grieves me to see the disposition of the court of Vienna; that there is so little hope to see the great work of the Spanish succession terminated by an agreement between the Emperor and France; and that we shall be forced to enter into separate engagements with France, which I would so willingly have avoided, knowing of what bad consequence it will be to us. I am therefore still of opinion, that all imaginable means must be used to endeavour to obtain from France a prolongation of the term for treating with her.

MR. STANHOPE TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Madrid, August 27. 1699.

A paper sent me this evening from don Antonio de Ubilla, secretary of the Dispacho Universal, a copy of which is inclosed, gives me an unexpected opportunity of beginning my correspondence with an office that concerns, or, by the contents, is supposed to concern your Excellency's negotiation in that court. His Catholic Majesty has had no new accident now above a month, but in reality is extremely weak.

(ENCLOSURE.)

Don Antonio de Ubilla kisses the hands of don Alexander Stanhope, envoy extraordinary of his Britannic Majesty, and

lets him know, that the king his master, having been frequently informed by his ministers in the North, of the strong informations and evident proofs which they have by different advices and accidents, that the English, Hollanders, and French, in consequence of what was last year concluded and stipulated at Loo, are now again forming new treaties for the succession of this crown, and for the dividing of it: which notices have been corroborated by other ways; so that they are public over all Europe: it would be against his dignity to dissemble, and take no notice of them. The king his master thinks it inexcusable not to oppose what might produce such irreparable inconveniences, if it came to be put in execution, and has ordered his ministers, in the courts of France, England, and Holland, to make known to those princes and governments, the just sentiments his Majesty has of those advices, unheard of before in the life of any king, and more improper in that of his Majesty; which consisting, at present (by the divine mercy, and for our happiness), in only thirty-eight years of age, we may naturally promise ourselves, and especially from his most high Providence, that he may give his Majesty the important succession, which we hope for from him, by the affectionate prayers and vows of his vassals: it causing a just wonder and grief that they doubt beforehand of so great a possibility, by reason of any opinions, taken up from the slight complaints, and the affliction of his kingdoms and subjects, and the impressions that seem to disturb the general tranquillity which we now enjoy: when, on the other hand, it is not to be believed, from the righteous and pious mind of his Majesty, that he lives so unmindful of his obligation, and values so little the love and security of his vassals, if God (by his secret and sovereign judgments) would chastise us by taking away his life (which we hope he will not suffer), without granting him the benefit of a succession, his affairs will be not left without a due reflection on what is most just and most important for the public tranquillity; and so, that nobody shall be able to find fault with his justice, nor his foresight. For which reasons, his Majesty has ordered his aforesaid ministers to make instances, and use their diligence to cut off those negotiations; weighing the ill effects which they now produce, and what their continuance may produce. And, that the com-

plaint of his Majesty, and the orders he gives to his ministers abroad to notify to the princes, at whose courts they reside, be at the same time made public, he has lately ordered, that it be made known to the ministers here. For this reason does don Antonio de Ubilla communicate it to don Alexander Stanhope, by order of his master, that he may also give notice to his Britannic Majesty, assisting with his prudent representations this just and honest purpose; that so the universal quiet may be maintained; and that he may quit the scandal of this negotiation, which, it is feared, will be an unhappy motive of kindling a voracious flame of a new war: which, being once lighted, will be difficult to be extinguished, either by the greatest force or the most dexterous and most powerful mediation: and he remains obedient to don Alexander Stanhope, with all affection.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, September 13. 1699.

I received, the day before yesterday, your letter of the 10th, and, together with it, that in which the Earl of Portland informs me of the discovery made by Quiros. I find that his reply was as it should be, and it appears to me that the same answer might be repeated as coming from me. I have written to Lord Portland to confer with you respecting it, for it is necessary that we should hold the same language. It is difficult to reply on so important a matter, when it is not admissible to speak the simple truth. I am very glad that Quiros has not come hither, for I could not have spoken to him in a ministerial capacity, while the affair of Schonenberg was not arranged.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, September 15. 1699.

Last night I received yours of the 13th, and learn by it the answer which the express from Vienna has brought; this, though far from the *ultimatum* of France, goes much further than I could have expected from the Imperialists. I think the French ambassadors are greatly in the wrong to press the time so much for concluding the treaty, for a little delay cannot be of any detriment to France, and the negotiation they pretend the Emperor has in hand can certainly make little change in the great work. But that is not the object: what France aims at is, to make them conclude a separate treaty with her, which she would prefer to a voluntary one; for, by forcing them, all the blame of the affair would result to us, and the benefit to her. I do not expect much by the express which Hop is to send. In my opinion it is not our business to require them to conclude with France, till we send one more courier to Vienna, to inform them that, unless they accept those conditions, we shall be obliged to come to an agreement with France, about the Spanish succession, without them. And, in all probability, several days will elapse before the courier reaches Hop, and also several others before he is re-despatched, and the 25th of this month will have elapsed long before the answer can arrive here.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, September 19. 1699.

I confess I find myself embarrassed what answer to give, touching the memorandum Count Tallard gave the Earl of Portland, which has been sent to the Marquis d'Harcourt.* It is in substance what Quiros has said to you and the Earl of Portland. My embarrassment is, that I cannot hinder France from making the negotiation public, though I do not approve the answer France intends to give Spain; and, should I approve it, then the treaty must go forward immediately, or very soon at least, which you know I would willingly have avoided. At present I see no other way but to answer as you have proposed, when the courier arrives that is expected from Vienna, and if he brings nothing particular. But the expressions in France's answer to Spain must be changed absolutely, that it may not appear to be a treaty already concluded, which in truth it is not, for the Republic has not yet deliberated upon it. I think if I can bring this answer to be consented to, France will have less reason to press me to conclude the treaty; but it is certain, that the Republic must take it immediately into consideration. I am entirely of your opinion, that this in-

* There will be found in the Appendix an extract from the Memoirs of Torcy, too long to be inserted here, which sets forth very clearly the steps of the French Ambassador at Madrid since the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria.

tended answer of France is only, by making the negotiation public, to press us so much the more to a conclusion without the Emperor's intervention; and that France's present object, according to my judgment, is to separate us by that means from that party; which is a great misfortune, but we cannot help ourselves at present.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Loo, September 19. 1699.

I have to-day received your despatch of yesterday, and am very sorry to be obliged to consent to the answer which the king of France has proposed to make to Spain. The reasons which you and the Pensionary allege are so strong that there is no room for hesitating, since it is certain that if I did not agree to the said answer, it is always in the power of France to make the negotiation public. It is what I should always have wished to prevent, and not to hasten so much to conclude the treaty, in hopes that, by degrees, the Emperor might have been induced to join voluntarily, which it seems France does not desire, but that he shall be forced, by approving the answer which France proposes. It appears to me that she ought no longer to be in such haste to sign the treaty, because by that, they could no longer doubt of my intention, but the affair must be deliberated in the States. I have written my sentiments more at length to the Pensionary on some changes in the

answer, which you will give from me to Count Tallard, which it is necessary duly to concert. The delay of the courier from Vienna might give a hope of some change, but I doubt it much.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, September 22. 1699.

I shall long to see what the courier will bring from Vienna. I think by what Mr. Hop writes, that the Imperialists will come very near the mark; but the chief obstacle will be Milan.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Dieren, September 26. 1699.

The eagerness which Tallard shows above Bonrepos, to have an answer relative to what must be said to Spain, arises, in my opinion, from self-interest or caprice, for they have certainly the same orders from their court: it is not the maxim of France to send different orders to her ministers. I hardly think you will have an answer from Vienna to-morrow, and therefore I hope you may still be able to delay giving a positive answer to the French ambassadors, though the impertinent memorial of the Spanish ambassador at London should make me rather hasten the negotiation.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Loo, September 29. 1699.

I send you annexed the important and seditious paper which the Spanish ambassador has caused to be given in England to each of the Lords Justices, in order that you may communicate it to the Pensionary. I could not do less than order the said ambassador to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, which is the same term as the late King Charles allowed to don Bernardo de Salinas and to Fonçeca, for having convened and had conferences with some members of the House of Commons, which you may perhaps recollect.* After this proceeding you will

* "The King has signified his pleasure to the Lords Justices, that the Spanish ambassador should be required to depart the kingdom in eighteen days, on account of his late memorial." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* September 28. O. S.

"My Lord Chancellor went that morning to the Lords Justices, and settled the message to be delivered to the Spanish ambassador. Their Excellencies thinking it fit that I should carry the message, I went to him this morning to Isleworth, and when I had delivered the message, at his desire, I repeated it again distinctly, that he might write it.[1] I know not how

[1] Subjoined is the message in question, "His Majesty having seen the paper, which the secretary of the embassy of Spain has lately delivered, by order of your Excellency, to the Lords Justices of the kingdom, his Majesty thinks the contents so insolent and seditious, that in resentment of so extraordinary a proceeding, and which can by no means be justified by the law of nations, he orders, that you go out of his dominions precisely in eighteen days, to be counted from this

readily judge that I shall be entirely at variance with Spain, which I am not well pleased at in this conjuncture, but I do not think I could have avoided it; it is, however, impossible to put up with such insolence. I doubt not that France will be very

his master may resent it, but I thought him overjoyed at the receipt of it: he told me he was very sorry he had it not last night. I asked him, why? — and he said he should have slept the better; but he told me, withal, there was nothing in his paper that was not exactly conformable to his instructions; and he had fresh orders sent him to repeat the same things in stronger terms, which my coming would now prevent. His answer was, that he would exactly obey the King's order in every thing, and in all places. His secretary formerly told me that he was weary to the last degree of being here, by reason they took no care of supplying him; and were it not for the danger he should run at home, by leaving his station before he had leave, he never would have stayed here so long. He did as good as tell me that Providence had found out a way for his deliverance. He desired I would procure him passports, and let him have a guard, if he saw an occasion for it, to conduct him to the place of embarking. I told him I would acquaint the Lords Justices with it; and I suppose it will be thought necessary to grant it, if they could protect him from his creditors. He took notice of its being said, that the paper was delivered by his order, which he assured me was otherwise; that his secretary had only orders to read the paper; but when any of the Lords Justices desired a copy of it, he did not refuse it them. I don't believe I could ever have found the ambassador in so good a humour on any other occasion." — *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* September 30. O. S. 1699.

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notification; and that you keep in your house till your departure. I am also ordered to let you know, that these are the orders of his Majesty, that no writing be any more received from you nor any of your domestics."

glad of it, and that she will see that I shall be now more eager speedily to conclude the treaty. I have caused the Earl of Jersey to come and sign it with you in case it should be necessary to conclude it before my departure for England. I leave it to you to show this paper of the Marquis de Canales to Count Tallard, since the affair will doubtless soon be known; the style of it is so extravagant that one cannot help laughing while reading it.

After writing this letter I received yours of yesterday, and that of the Pensionary. I am very sorry to see that there is nothing to be hoped for from the court of Vienna. I think, however, that it is necessary to send back a courier, and to represent to them, for the last time, the necessity of joining us in the treaty as the Pensionary has proposed. I approve likewise of what he has concerted with you, as to what you shall say to the French ambassador, for the answer to be given to Spain. We can no longer defer proceeding to deliberate in the States-General, on the treaty for the Spanish succession, and I see that you will be obliged to sign it before my departure for England.

From what I see by your letter you have read the paper of Canales, and not knowing whether you have a copy, I have given it to d'Allonne to send one to you. I add a letter which I have just received at the same time with yours from Schonenberg, by which you will see the fine projects of the Spaniards against me in the next Parliament, and that you are comprehended in them. After this, I

have much fewer scruples speedily to conclude with France, and it is very necessary to stipulate the longest term possible for the Emperor to join, if he has a mind so to do, which was a very happy notion of yours.

Though I am very glad at being now relieved from embarrassment about the affair of Darien, I pity with all my heart the poor Scotch, who have lost every thing, and were by no means the promoters of this enterprise.* I fear, too, that this will cause many quarrels in Scotland, from which I too may have to suffer.

(ENCLOSURE.)

Remonstrance presented by the Marquis de Canales to the Lords Justices.

First, that his Catholic Majesty having been informed by evident proofs that his Majesty King William, the Hollanders, and other powers, in consequence of what they have treated and stipulated last year at Loo, are now at this time actually hatching new treaties for the succession to the crown of Spain, and, what is most detestable, con-

* The Scotch Parliament had passed an Act, some years before, for the establishment of a company trading to the Indies, and planting a colony in the Isthmus of Darien. Great ability was shown by the projectors of that enterprise, and a large capital was embarked in it. Letters patent were ordered by the Parliament under the Great Seal, but without a warrant from the Crown. The jealousy of the English and Dutch, however, and the rights of the Spaniards, were opposed to this company, and the legal defects of its constitution were employed to ruin it.

triving its division and repartition: his Majesty orders his extraordinary ambassador residing in this kingdom to make known to the first lords and ministers of England, the just resentment which his Majesty has against these operations and proceedings, never before seen, nor even attempted to be treated of by any nations in regard to the interests of another; and still less, during the life of a monarch, who is of so fit an age to have reasons to hope (for many years) a succession so much wished for by all nations, who, without a detestable avarice, could not be provoked to usurp and overturn another prince's country; That, if this was permitted, and was not contrary to the law of nature, no nation nor dominion could be safe against the inclinations and deceits of the strongest and most malicious; whereas reason, and not force, confines nations; That if it was permitted to strangers to take notice, and to put their hands into the lines of succession of kings and sovereigns, there would be no statutes nor municipal laws to be observed in the one, nor in the other; nor could any be free from the attempts of others, and the crown of England less than any: If we lie watching the indispositions of sovereigns, no health would be constant, no life safe, while the one and the other depend on the hand of the Almighty, who regulates life, death, and empires; That the impressions which one kingdom makes upon the other, to tempt the faith of the subjects, and to excite their minds to a rising, are an offence, and but a degree less than the betraying the good faith which ought to be observed among Christians, and more particularly among allies and friends; That we ought not to presume that any prince, or nation, and still less the king of the Spanish nation, is so negligent, as not to take just measures against accidents that may happen when least thought of, to secure the public peace, and the repose of Europe, which has been the aim of the king and the

nation for so many ages, as it is now and will always be; That if these proceedings, these machinations and projects, are not quickly put a stop to, we shall, without doubt, see a dire and universal war over all Europe, difficult to stop even when we are willing, and most sensible and prejudicial to the English nation, which has newly tried and felt what novelties and the last war have cost them. This matter is so worthy of reflection and consideration, that it is not doubted that it will be owned as such by the Parliament, the nobility, and all the English nation, which has always been so full of foresight into the present and future times: The same nation must consider its particular interests, the trade and the treaties which she principally has with the king and the Spanish nation; the alteration, the division, and separation of which, would of necessity draw after it considerable prejudices and damages; and all this is prevented by cutting short the project that is begun, and not to help on novelties that have from all times been hurtful to empires and sovereignties; That the extraordinary ambassador of Spain will manifest to the Parliament, when it shall be assembled, the just resentment which he now expresses, as his master has caused it to be notified to all the public ministers of the kings, princes, and republics that reside at the Court of Madrid.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, September 29. 1699.

The Earl of Portland will communicate to you the impertinent and seditious paper which the Spanish ambassador has given out in England. I could not do less than order him to quit the kingdom in eighteen days. King Charles did the same

thing to don Bernardo Salinas, and to Fonçeca, who is still living, only because he had corresponded and had conferences with members of Parliament. This step will embroil me with Spain at once, but I cannot avoid it; and consequently I shall have less scruple to conclude the treaty with France. This evening or to-morrow I shall probably learn what passed last Sunday in your conference with the French ambassadors.

I approve entirely your ideas about sending a courier to Vienna again, with instructions for M. Hop, in the manner you propose; as also your intention of speaking and concerting with the French ambassadors about the answer to be given to Spain. You must now immediately bring this whole negotiation into deliberation by the States, for it must not be delayed any longer; and I foresee that the treaty must now be soon concluded.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, September 30. 1699.

The Spanish ambassador is endeavouring to get a private audience of the King. The first matter he is to represent, is in relation of some transactions at Loo.* The declaration of his king makes also great discourse here.

* "The Spanish ambassador (the Marquis de Castel-dos-Rios) arrived at Paris, and demanded a private audience of the King

The state of affairs at St. Germains continues much the same as it was. They are still pleasing themselves with hopes the nation will recall him at last; though the greatest prospect they seem to have, is the death of the king of Spain, which might again renew the war.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Dieren, October 8. 1699.

I am quite of your opinion with regard to Lorraine. We must of necessity once more broach the subject to the French. I fear this letter will not reach you in time to-morrow for the sitting of the States of Holland; but it appears to me that it is not necessary that all the details of the treaty should be known at the first sitting, in order that they may be taken accurately into consideration. I am uneasy about the secret of the admission of the

which was granted him. He had orders from his master, to complain of the measures taken during his life-time, to parcel out his dominions after his decease. The King answered, that he should be sorry to have given any just cause of complaint to the king his brother, his Majesty having nothing so much at heart as the welfare and preservation of that prince, and to see him father of a numerous progeny, sentiments founded as well on personal esteem as on the ties of blood; and that it was these very reasons that induced him to forward and press the conclusion of the last treaties of peace, his principal view henceforward being to maintain a perfect and reciprocal harmony with his Catholic Majesty, such as nothing should ever interrupt." — *Memoirs of Torcy.*

Emperor; for, if this secret comes to be divulged, we have to fear not only that this court will refuse its consent, but that it will raise up all imaginable difficulties before us.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Loo, October 12. 1699.

Having examined the articles of the treaty, I find that they are nearly conformable to the project which was agreed upon before my departure from England. I have put them into the hands of Lord Jersey, who has set out this morning for the Hague to sign the treaty with you. You have done very well to wait for his arrival. I do not indeed see that there is any need for haste, and I even thought that you would sign only at the same time as the deputies of the States. The Pensionary had written to me that you were to send me the secret article; there must, therefore, have been some misunderstanding, since I have not received it. You may still send it me, as I do not see that this need delay the signature of the treaty.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, October 20—30. 1699.

On my arrival at Margate *, I despatched a boat with letters to acquaint you with my happy landing,

* On the 26th of October, King William embarked in the Maese, and the next day landed at Margate, lay that night at Canterbury, and on the 28th arrived at Kensington.

but, as the wind has blown continually east, you will perhaps receive this at the same time. I never had a more pleasant or agreeable passage. I have this morning received your letter of the 27th, and read with attention the protest of the Imperialists. I think I can give the paper no other name. I must confess, that it contains many reasons of weight and consideration; but things appear to me to have gone too far to admit of such reasoning upon them. It was very agreeable to me to learn what passed between you and Bonrepos the day after my departure, which renews the negotiation. I have thought myself under the necessity of informing my ambassador in France of what passed at the Hague, in order that he might be able to undeceive the king of France and his ministers of the biassed impression Tallard may have given them, as if I had shuffled in this business and had not kept to my engagement; and to endeavour to procure the sending of instructions to Bonrepos, to adjust and settle all difficulties with the Republic.

In what situation I have found matters here, and what is the state of feeling, I cannot yet tell you exactly.* The well-disposed appear to be glad of my

* "Many expected to see a new parliament; for the King's speech at the end of the former session looked like a complaint, and an appeal to the nation against them; he seemed inclined to it, but his ministers would not venture on it: the dissolving a parliament in anger has always cast such a load on those who were thought to have advised it, that few have been able to bear it; besides, the disbanding the army had rendered the members, who promoted it, very popular to the nation; so that

having returned so soon, and many are of opinion that the approaching session of Parliament will not be so bad as they had dreaded; but it is only time that can make this known to us.

Though the negotiation at Vienna appears to be at an end, yet M. Hop cannot be recalled at this crisis, but must stay there a little longer. It is reported, that Count Aversberg has said he had heard M. Hop was recalled, and that in that case he should be obliged to depart also; and that all intercourse and correspondence would be broken off.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{October 23.}}{\text{November 2.}}$ 1699.

I am very sorry to see that the burgomasters of Amsterdam decline the treaty for the Spanish succession. Undoubtedly, the whole town council will be of the same way of thinking, so that other arguments must be tried to persuade them to it. I think you must bring that work before the States-General in my name, in order to see what the provinces will say to it; and in order to fulfil my engagements with France, that I would do my

they would have sent up the same men, and it was thought that there was little occasion for heat in another session: but those who opposed the King, resolved to force a change of the ministry upon him; they were seeking colours for this." — *Burnet.*

best to bring the treaty to effect. I think, in the mean while, you should communicate to Bonrepos the important remarks which Amsterdam made upon the treaty, without, however, naming that town as yet; but as remarks of some ministers of the Republic, that he may send them to France and receive further orders thereon, which will show we are for losing no time. As soon as I hear anything from France touching this negotiation, I will immediately inform you.

MR. STANHOPE TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Madrid, November 5. 1699

By the enclosed copy of the complaint I have made here against the Marquis de Canales' proceedings, your Excellency will judge I have seen his insolent and seditious paper. They readily received mine, which I much doubted they would not; and it was sent within an hour hither from the Escurial to the Council of State. This was the day before yesterday, in the morning, and they have been in close consults ever since. I have advices from several hands, and some from persons of the first rank, that the resolution will probably be moderate; and that they will disown their ambassador, so far at least as to the brutality of his expressions, and it may be as to the substance, now they find the world generally cry out against the folly, as well as insolence of it; though I am satisfied he had orders to do the thing, but not in that manner.

This makes me willing to give them time to bethink themselves before they run on headlong into mischiefs, against which they are so ill provided, and it is a latitude my orders allow me. Besides that, if I can prevent a breach, and procure his Majesty humble satisfaction, I shall believe I do both him and my country good service. If, after all, my good intentions prove ineffectual, as there is some reason to fear they may, considering the temper and prejudicate passions of the present ruling ministers, I shall return very well satisfied by having done what I think my duty.

(ENCLOSURE.)

Madrid, November 3. 1699.

Don Alexander Stanhope, envoy extraordinary of the king of Great Britain, kisses the hands of don Antonio de Ubilla, and says, that he has orders from the king his master, immediately to pass to the royal knowledge of his Catholic Majesty the just motive of complaint given him by a paper, which the secretary of the Marquis de Canales, by order of his master, delivered to the Lords Justices of England in London, of which the adjoined is a true copy, and from whose contents, besides the rude and provoking language, it is manifest the design of it was to stir up sedition in his kingdoms, by appealing to the parliament and people of England against his Majesty; which is to own them superior to his royal person, than which nothing can be more absurd and contrary to the constitution of the government of the kingdom of England; and is what the said Marquis de Canales, ambassador from his Catholic Majesty, neither ought nor could be ignorant of, after so many years' residence in it. Notwithstanding which the

paper is full of contumelious terms to his Majesty's person, making use of several artifices, of insinuations and threats, purposely to breed a misunderstanding and dissension betwixt his Majesty and his subjects; an attempt no sovereign prince can suffer in his dominions; and, therefore, the king of Great Britain, his master, found himself necessitated to stop, as soon as possible, a mischief, which by the industry of the Marquis went on spreading itself daily, by ordering he should be required to go out of his kingdoms; and finally, the said paper, being both in words and substance, affrontive to the majesty and sacredness of kings, the king of Great Britain, his master, does not believe it possible that the Marquis writ or published it by the orders of his Catholic Majesty, but on the contrary, persuades himself that this his resentment will be much to his royal satisfaction, as made for the common cause of all kings; and that don Alexander Stanhope will hope, that don Antonio de Ubilla pass all this to the royal knowledge of his Catholic Majesty, whom God preserve, remaining don Antonio's most humble and affectionate servant.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, November 6. 1699.

Mr. Prior informed your Lordship by Wednesday's post of his arrival here.* He having explained

* Mathew Prior, the poet. He had been secretary to the embassy which concluded the peace of Ryswick. He went to Paris with the Earl of Portland, remained there during the embassy of the Earl of Jersey, and when that nobleman left Paris in order to take the seals, Prior remained as chargé d'affaires till the arrival of the Earl of Manchester, when he was

to me the subject upon which he was sent, I wrote to M. de Torcy the enclosed letter, which I send your Lordship, in order to procure an audience, the court being at Marly, and resolved to stay there till Saturday sevennight. The first part of my letter was, as your Lordship will perceive, to acknowledge one that I had received that morning, upon Prince Vaudemont's affair. I am sorry I have no better answer to his business, and shall expect your further directions how I am to proceed in it. I affected speaking of it in the beginning of my letter to M. de Torcy, without mentioning the other affair, that it might not seem that I desired an audience with so great an impatience, though I believe your Lordship will see that I pressed it as much as I could, without giving M. de Torcy occasion to guess into the reason of my asking it. The answer I have received is, that the King has made it an established rule not to give audience to any public minister whilst he is at Marly; and this answer he gave in such full terms, and as if he had mentioned the thing to the King, that I think I ought not to press it any further.

Another ill accident has happened in the thing, viz., M. de Torcy will be here on Tuesday next, and it will be difficult enough for me to see him,

appointed by Lord Jersey under-secretary of State. "Before you receive this," wrote Lord Jersey to the Earl of Manchester, October 23, o. s. "Mr. Prior will be with you. It is his Majesty's desire that you discourse the business of the Partition treaty with Mr. Prior, who has already knowledge of it."

without having him question me a good deal upon the subject of the audience. I shall endeavour, as well as I can, not to let him into the matter, or disoblige him, though the latter will not be very easy, considering his temper.*

My entry and audiences are fixed on Sunday sevennight, and the days following.

(ENCLOSURE.)

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE MARQUIS DE TORCY.

Paris, November 4. 1699.

I have received the letter you honoured me with on the 3rd. I am very much obliged to you for your exactness in every thing. You will nevertheless do well to prepare yourself to be further importuned upon that subject, for we expect every thing from the goodness of the King.

I have received an order by an express from England, by which I am commanded to pray you to ask, as soon as you can, a private audience of the King. I know very well that it is not according to custom to have one during the King's stay at Marly; but I think myself sure of it by the facility his Majesty shows to receive every thing that comes in particular from the king my master. You will have the goodness to say a word about it to the King. As his Majesty designs to remain at Marly till Saturday come

* "When Mr. Stanyan was last at Fontainebleau, he could not see M. de Torcy, because M. de Pomponne was then very ill. He is since dead, and I am very sorry, because it will make the other much higher than ever."— *The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Jersey.* Paris, September 30. 1699.

sevennight, and as my public entry and audience must follow upon it, I should be very sorry to be put off till that time.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{October 31.}}{\text{November 10.}}$ 1699.

You will have seen by my preceding letter, that I think it will be necessary for my justification that the great work of the negotiation be brought before the States-General; but I own, conformably to your ideas, that no objections should be communicated to Bonrepos, as long as Amsterdam is against the whole negotiation, a point to which till now I had not directed my thoughts. I have letters from France telling me that Prior was arrived; but that my ambassador could not have a private audience of the King, as he was at Marly, till next Saturday or Tuesday; so that it will probably be the end of the next week before I can inform ycu of his return, unless Count Tallard should come here sooner. I think the affair is now in that state that we must first know how France looks upon it, before we can judge what will be the issue of the whole.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, November 11. 1699.

I told your Lordship by the express, that it was impossible for me to obtain an audience, whilst the court continues at Marly. M. de Torcy being in town to give audiences to the public ministers here, as he usually does on Tuesdays at Versailles, I waited on him. He began with making me excuses that I had not an audience at Marly, that it was an established rule which could not be altered in any case, for the inconveniences which would happen from other ministers expecting the same thing.

Upon his asking me the subject of the audience I desired, which your Lordship saw by my letter of the 6th I did not explain to him, I thought fit to tell him so much, that it related to the treaty of Spain, of which affair the king my master desired a happy conclusion. He would have entered into the particulars of this affair, and let fall that it was the method here, that the minister of this court should be informed of what one would desire in an audience; that the king of France being apprised of it, might be the better able to give an answer. I told him in general terms, that whatever I should say to the King, was in order to repeat the assurances of friendship and good correspondence in which the king my master will continue with this court, as well on this occasion, as in all other matters; and thus much I said to him,

because, as your Lordship knows, it would not have been well to disoblige him, or keep that entirely from him, which he must have known, with all its particulars, an hour after. We parted thus with all imaginable civility, he promising to procure me an audience, if he could, for Saturday. I thought proper to tell him that Mr. Prior was here, since it was impossible but that he should have heard it, and he might have thought that I was not very fair with him, if I had concealed it.

MR. STANHOPE TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Madrid, November 12. 1699.

The next day after my last, which was November 5, I had certain notice from several hands, that the King had taken his resolution of ordering me to be gone; whereupon at midnight I dispatched to the Escurial my agent, with the paper, of which the enclosed is a copy. The secretary of the Dispacho Universal, don Antonio de Ubilla, would not receive, but was willing to hear the contents by word of mouth, and that was as much as I desired. Two days after, the conductor, or master of the ceremonies, came to order me, in the king his master's name, to be gone out of the Spanish dominions within eighteen days, and not to stir out of my house till I should begin my journey. Your Excellency has the answer I gave my conductor in the same sheet with the former. I have every day since solicited my passports, being ready

to be gone whenever they give them me; and am told the reason of the delay is to know by next post whether any passports, and in what form they were given to the Marquis de Canales in London, that they may exactly imitate the same with me.

His Catholic Majesty has not been very well lately, which is all laid to the poor Queen's door, with whom he now beds constantly, though I fear to very little purpose.

(ENCLOSURE.)

Madrid, November 6. 1699.

Don Alexander Stanhope, envoy extraordinary from the king of Great Britain, kisses the hands of don Antonio de Ubilla, and says, that having already represented to his Catholic Majesty, whom God preserve, the motives that necessitated the king his master to send the declaration, he lately did, to the Marquis de Canales; and don Alexander Stanhope having no other orders but to return to his Majesty's royal presence as soon as possible, he communicates this to don Antonio de Ubilla, that he may please to put it into the royal knowledge of his Catholic Majesty, whom he beseeches at the same time, with all humble submission, to order such passports to be given him as will be necessary for such a voyage; and don Alexander Stanhope remains don Antonio de Ubilla's most humble and affectionate Servant.

Mr. Stanhope's Answer to the Conductor of Ambassadors.

You will please to tell his Catholic Majesty from me, that I will punctually comply in all that you have intimated to me from his royal order, because in so doing, I

shall obey the orders of the king my master, as his Catholic Majesty cannot but have been informed by don Antonio de Ubilla, to whom I communicated it two days ago by my secretary at the Escurial, desiring at the same time, passports necessary for my voyage, that I am glad to see their two Majesties' minds so unanimous, and desire they may continue the same in all other matters.

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE EARL OF MANCHESTER'S AUDIENCE OF THE FRENCH KING AT VERSAILLES, ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15. 1699.*

"Sir,

The king my master having found that M. de Tallard was, by his instructions, obliged to quit Holland before he signed the treaty which was projected with your Majesty, relating to the succession of Spain; his Majesty has ordered me to desire this private audience, to assure you, Sir, that the King continues in the same sentiments he was always of in regard to that treaty. Your Majesty knows very well the good offices employed by the king my master, to make the Imperialists enter into it. He has also done all he could to make the States like it. His Majesty continues to act as he did. As to what concerns the King's signing it, he caused the Earl of Jersey to come into Holland expressly for this end; and I doubt not but Count Tallard will have told your

* This account was written by Lord Manchester himself, and brought by Prior who set out for London on the same day.

Majesty how often the king my master has offered to sign it, to show that he was ready to do all that depended on him. Your Majesty will give me leave to be a little long, in telling how this affair had passed, that so your Majesty may have it perfectly cleared up, that there is no alteration in the intention of the king my master. The business was proposed to the States of the province of Holland, as to those, who were the most interested in it; for it was not apprehended that any obstacles should be met with elsewhere, if the consent of that province was had. That was also the best way to make the secret of this affair less apt to be divulged.

"Sir, if it has been represented to you, that the king my master might have made use of the credit he has with the States, to cause this treaty to be concluded, I will own, that the King has a great deal of credit in that country; but this credit does always conform itself to the manners and customs of the country; and though the States had found no objection, the business could not have been ended without the consent of every city, which could not be had in less time than a month or three weeks, as the Pensionary and the Earl of Portland have given Count Tallard to understand. But, whilst his orders did not give him leave to wait for the conclusion of the affair, the king my master hopes, that your Majesty will renew your orders to M. de Tallard, or send orders to M. de Bonrepos, to endeavour to remove all obstacles,

that so the project of the treaty may have its effect."

The King answered:

"I own I was a little surprised that the affair was not finished at the expiration of the time, and before the king your master did set out for England. I am satisfied with the assurances, which you now give me from him, that he continues still in the same intention; and I hope he will still continue to contribute all he can with the States. As for me, I am still of the same mind, and I act with the same sincerity. I will soon send M. de Tallard with the necessary instructions."

When I said "that the reason the States of Holland were not sooner acquainted with it, was, that it could not be proposed to them, till it was known, whether the Imperialists would come in or no;" the King said, "They have had time enough given them, and even too much." As to Count Tallard's having orders to come away, the King took no notice of it, nor that he had been informed of every step. Upon my saying, "M. de Tallard has been informed of all that has been done in this affair, and has even seen all the letters which M. Hop wrote to the Pensionary; and it being first proposed to the province of Holland," it seemed that he was satisfied in these points. I took occasion to see, if M. de Bonrepos had any orders, saying, "that the king my master is desirous that your Majesty should be informed by M. de Tallard, or M. de Bonrepos, of all that passes;

and even the States will always have a great regard for all that comes from your Majesty." The King answered, "In this affair I confided only in M. de Tallard; and I know very well, that the king your master has more credit than I in Holland on this occasion." When I said, "that the King had recommended it to the care of the Pensionary, and that we hoped that the difficulties were such as might be surmounted," the King answered, "that he hoped so too; and that he imagined that somebody would come from the States into England; and that the treaty would be signed there." The King said also, "As you know I have it under the hand of the king your master, as he has it under mine." Then I said, "I have also, Sir, particular orders to tell your Majesty from the King, that as he had acted on this occasion with an open heart, and with all possible sincerity, so he will continue to act on all other occasions that may be able to contribute to the strengthening the friendship and good correspondence with your Majesty." The King answered, "You may assure the king your master that I will do the same."

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, November 7 – 17. 1699.

It appears from Bonrepos's language, that they are for negotiating that great business here and not at the Hague, which it will be equally impossible to do, whilst the people of the Republic continue to

have their difficulties. I hear nothing yet of Count Tallard's coming over, and have nothing further from France; nor do I expect any thing till the end of this week, as my ambassador will not have been able to have an audience of the king of France till to-day; so that I have nothing further to write to you at present upon this important matter.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, November 10—20. 1699.

I send you the letters which I have received from the Pensionary. You will see that Amsterdam absolutely refuses to join in the proposed alliance, and that there is very little probability of making them change their mind. You may judge how much this must embarrass me. I expect Prior in a day or two, and then you must take the trouble of coming here, that we may deliberate together on what is to be done.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, November 10—20. 1699.

The day before yesterday I received your letter of the 13th, and saw with great concern, that Amsterdam not only persists in not acceding to the treaty, but also that there is little hope of making her change her sentiments, which em-

barrasses me not a little. I expect Prior from France to-morrow or the day after, and shall learn from him how the affair is taken in France; and shall then be in a better condition to judge what is to be done further in this important business. I imagine, that when France sees that the Republic will not enter into this said treaty, they will be for engaging me to do it alone; not so much because France will think herself securer by that, but to see if I act in good faith; and also to separate me from the Republic, which is a great embarrassment to me on all sides; and I shall not be a little perplexed what part to take. I desire you will let me know your ideas upon this.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, November 21. 1699.

The same day Mr. Prior left this place, I went to Versailles, and had my audiences; where passed what is usual on such occasions. The King expressed himself in very obliging terms, mentioning the great desire he had to continue the good correspondence that was now so well established; and that he did again repeat to me what he had formerly assured me of, &c. I made M. de Torcy a visit, where I took occasion to discourse of what had passed in my private audience. I knew he expected it, and was also willing to find out his sense of the matter. He said, that the King had

acquainted him with it; that I had fully explained the whole proceeding to his Majesty; that M. de Tallard was to set out on Monday next. He did still seem to insist on the great credit our king had with the States, and, laughing, said he wondered I should lessen it. I told him I did own the States had always shown a great regard to every thing that was proposed by his Majesty; that the assurances I had given this king were, that he had recommended it, and would continue to do it, so that nothing would be wanting on his part; that though there were great hopes of a good conclusion, yet till it was agreed to by the States, it was more than could be said that they would certainly do it. On the whole, I find the court impatient till it is done, by saying, no time was to be lost; that the king of Spain's life was very uncertain; that, by the last account they had, he was ill again.

I waited on M. de Tallard this morning, and his discourse was much the same. He gave me to understand that, though M. de Bonrepos would seem to be concerned in this affair, he was not; that he hoped to find all things ready at his return into England, which would be on Saturday next; that he had all the duty imaginable for the King; that his intentions were, and always would be, to endeavour to continue a good understanding between our masters. To which I replied, as was proper on such an occasion, "I hope M. de Tallard will be so just, as to give it the same turn in England he does here."

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, November, 14—24. 1699.

I am very sorry that Amsterdam continues in the same sentiments; and the arguments Pensionary Buys adduces to you appear incomprehensible to me. I doubt, however, whether Amsterdam, in case all the provinces consent, would remain isolated in an affair of this nature. In the mean time, if it were possible to get the Emperor to consent, it would be a desirable circumstance; for if the only, or the greatest, difficulty consists in the affair of the renunciation, as Count Goes seems to have told you, some expedient might be proposed; to wit, that, reciprocally, neither the Emperor, nor the king of France, should renounce for their descendants.

Prior returned from France two days ago, and tells me that the answer which the king of France gave my ambassador was, in substance, that he owned he was surprised the treaty was not yet signed; that he was glad to find I continued in the same sentiment of entering into the treaty; and that he had the same inclination, and would send Tallard hither as soon as might be to perfect the work; that he could make use of no other minister in it than him, as he had always been in the secret of the negotiation; and that he did not doubt but I had more credit in the Republic than he; seeming to insinuate that I could direct the business there as I thought proper, and that I also best knew the form and manner. I expect Count Tallard every

day, who probably will be much surprised and discontented that the Republic is not yet prepared to sign.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, November 17—27. 1699.

Parliament opened yesterday. You will see from my speech that I ask nothing for myself; I speak only of their own safety in general terms. Hence one might expect a session that would offer no difficulty; but people here have such a strange temper, that I dare not form any expectation. Opinions are divided as to what is going to be done. But I assure you that nobody is in a condition to judge, or even to form the slightest conjecture about it. We must always say here, like the Newspapers, "time will show." Both Houses have adjourned till Friday next.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{November 24.}}{\text{December 4.}}$ 1699.

Count Tallard arrived here two days ago, and has had an audience of me to-day. The substance of what he told me in it, is, that the king his master was surprised that the treaty in question was not signed before my departure from the Hague; and that the Republic should

make difficulties about it at present, seeing they were so ready to conclude a similar one a year ago; and that he had power and order to sign the said treaty even here, with whomsoever the Republic should authorise. I answered, that the Republic had not yet come to a resolution upon it, and that I could not deny that more difficulties had arisen than I had been able to foresee; that I had done my best sincerely, and still should. To which he replied, that the king his master was persuaded of it, and had received with pleasure the assurance I had caused to be made thereon, by my ambassador in France; but that he could not enter into any detail how it stood with the Republic in this matter, nor what was to be done, but that the direction of that must be left to me; that no alteration could be made in the essential points of the treaty, but they were well inclined to make any literal corrections, or to elucidate and clear up any part that was necessary; but that it must be done here, as he had orders to conclude the business here and nowhere else. And he besought me earnestly, that he might know betimes whether the Republic would accede to this alliance or not; for his king could wait no longer, and must take other measures. I thereupon told him I could give him no other answer, than that I did my best to persuade the Republic to it, and that there were three posts due from Holland; for I had not then received your letters. He concluded with saying, that he hoped shortly to have a positive answer; and gave me sufficiently to understand that he should wait no longer. I found

him much out of humour during this conversation (which was not long), worse than when you saw him at the Hague, repeating to me several times that he had foreseen this difficulty, which he had told you and the Earl of Portland; and he appeared to have no hopes of the whole business, enhancing the great prejudice his king suffered from the long lingering of this work. It was easy to answer this and show the contrary. He said very positively that his king would no longer remain in this state of uncertainty, but would know whether the Republic would enter into the treaty or not; so that you may easily conceive how hard I shall be pressed to give a positive answer, which it is impossible for me to do yet; and it is certain, that a delay will soon be taken for a refusal, so that you see I shall not be a little embarrassed. Hitherto Count Tallard has not let it appear in all his discourse, whether they were inclined to propose a separate treaty to me. I should rather think not, as he constantly spoke of taking other measures. I am obliged to you for communicating to me your sentiments thereon; you will have seen by my letters latterly, that I desired it. I am perfectly of your opinion, that it is not eligible for me to treat with France, distinct from the Republic.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{November 28.}}{\text{December 8.}}$ 1699.

I could wish the provinces would hasten their consent to the treaty, that you might be the more enabled to persuade Amsterdam. It is certain their greatest difficulty arises from Vienna, and I am as sorry as they that the Emperor is not to be persuaded, which Hop's last letter confirms more and more. Count Tallard has not spoken to me on the subject since, and you will easily imagine that I shall not be the first to begin the conversation.

It is difficult to speak of the affairs of Parliament; the apparent moderation that exists is not real; and I have but too good reasons to apprehend a very troublesome session.*

* King William had opened the session with a long and sullen speech. "Let us," said he, "act with confidence in each other." This was understood as a reproach by implication, and the speech of the King was so far from removing, as he hoped, the ill impressions, which the dissatisfaction he had expressed at the proceedings of the Commons at the end of the last session had left in their minds, that it served rather to increase them. The House would not suffer the least intimation of their want of confidence in the King, and grew angry at their being thought to have given any occasion to such a suspicion. Instead, therefore, of an address of thanks, they presented a sort of remonstrance, setting forth, "That, being highly sensible that there was nothing more necessary for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, for the quieting the people's minds, and disappointing his enemies' designs, than a neutral and entire confidence between him and his Parliament; they did esteem it their general misfortune, that, after having so amply provided for his and the government's security both by sea and land, any

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December 5—15. 1699.

I trust the remaining provinces have now consented; and, consequently, Amsterdam being

jealousy and mistrust had been raised of their duty and affection to him and his people: and begged leave to represent to him that it would greatly conduce to the continuing and establishing an entire confidence between him and them, that he would show marks of his high displeasure towards all that should presume to misrepresent their proceedings to him; and they, on their part, being duly sensible of his constant concern to maintain their civil and religious rights, in defence whereof he had so often exposed his person, would do all they could to prevent and discourage all false rumours and reports, reflecting on his Majesty's government, whereby to create any misunderstanding between him and his subjects." To this the king returned the following answer:—"Gentlemen, my parliaments have done so great things for me; and I have upon all proper occasions expressed so great a sense of their kindness, and my opinion has been so often declared, that the happiness of any English king depends upon an entire correspondence between him and his parliament, that it may not seem strange for me to assure you that no person has ever yet dared to go about to misrepresent to me the proceedings of either House. Had I found any such, they would immediately have felt the highest marks of my displeasure. It is a justice I owe, not only to my parliament, but to every one of my subjects, to judge of them by their actions: and this rule I will steadily pursue. If any shall attempt hereafter to put me upon other methods by calumnies or misrepresentations, they will not only fail of success, but shall be looked upon and treated by me as my worst enemies. "Gentlemen, I am pleased to see by your address, that you have the same thoughts of the great advantages which will ensue to the kingdom from our mutual confidence as I expressed to both Houses at the opening of this session. I take very

alone, that you will have been able to press them further.

Count Tallard has not spoken to me since concerning the great work; whether it is out of discretion, or that he waits for further orders from France, or possibly because he knows what is going on in Holland, I do not know. It is not my intention to speak to him first on the subject, as I have nothing positive to say yet. In case the Republic resolves to accede to the treaty, you will be pleased to turn over in your mind how it can be settled and signed here, on the part of the States; I do not think that Geldermalsum is competent to do it.

I have forgotten to reply to you with regard to Schonenberg. As far as this matter relates to the Republic, I should like to see it arranged with Spain; in the hope, however, that care should be taken that he incurs no personal injury from it. As for my difference with Spain, I have told Aversberg that I was expecting the proposals of accommodation which the Emperor was willing to offer me on the subject, and that, as far as I was concerned, I should present every facility; but that it must be borne in mind that I am the injured party. Thus I am waiting for the proposals. Meanwhile

kindly the assurance you give me of using your utmost care and endeavours to prevent and discourage all false rumours and reports reflecting upon me and my government; and I faithfully promise you, that no actions of mine shall give you a just ground for any misunderstanding between me and my people."

the elector of Bavaria also tenders his good offices for this purpose; and I am of opinion that he has received instructions from Spain to do so. It strikes me that the affair will thus be at once better and more speedily arranged.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, December 23. 1699.

I was this day with M. de Torcy. He took notice, that the affair of Spain was still depending, and not agreed to, which might be a great prejudice to this king, since they have now a good opportunity of turning matters to their advantage, the queen of Spain being dissatisfied with the court of Vienna. He did not mention the occasion, but I fancy it is something in relation to the Countess of Berlips.* All I said was, that I was assured

* "Division equally reigned in the council and at court. The Queen, who had been hitherto absolute mistress of every disposition that had been made, seemed to doubt, amidst the general confusion, what part she should take. Count Harrach being linked with her enemies often traversed her views. By his private intrigues he obliged her to discharge her favourite Berlips, though this woman, ever since she had been in Spain, had laboured hard to promote the interests of his Imperial Majesty. The discarded favourite, upon her being sent back to Germany, desired a private conference of the Marquis d'Harcourt, before she set out from Madrid. Her whole conversation turned on the motives which the Queen had to be dissatisfied with Count Harrach. Berlips had as great reason herself to hate him; so that joining her interest to that of her mistress, she said that

that the king my master would contribute all he could to bring that matter to a good conclusion.

they both looked upon the Harrachs, father and son, as their mortal enemies. "The father," said she, "while he was at Madrid, and the son following his footsteps, have been at the head of every party that has appeared against the Queen; they have been continually finding fault with her conduct and mine. The son is now the ringleader of these nocturnal meetings of a set of people that have conspired to part the King and Queen; while at the same time they send me back to Germany. Harrach in close connection with Monterey and Leganez, excites the people to revolt; and this worthy ambassador, who has been the Queen's greatest enemy, as well as his father, not content with the mischief which he has done at Madrid, has moreover painted my mistress in the blackest colours to the court of Vienna. He perfectly imitates his father, who said one day to the Prince of Darmstadt, that there were only two roads left for queen dowagers that had no issue, one to the convent of *Descalças reales* and the other to the Escurial." The second treaty of Partition was not yet signed at the beginning of December. Harcourt, who had always suspected the sincerity of King William and of the Dutch, was of opinion that the King ought to avail himself of the present disinclination of the Queen to the court of Vienna, and to make some advantageous offers to her, in order to wean that princess entirely from the Emperor's party. He observed notwithstanding, that even if she were to persuade her husband to make a will in favour of a prince of the House of Bourbon, similar to that which he had before made in favour of the late electoral prince of Bavaria, such a disposition could have no force, unless it was approved of by the states of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon; but that the meeting of those States, was a thing which the King of Spain could not bear the thought of, having long since taken a resolution never to summon them while he lived; and that the Queen and those who had most credit and influence at court, would consider themselves to be equally interested in opposing that assembly. Though his Majesty was loth to suspect the

He answered that the King was fully satisfied of it.

Count Zinzendorf* had an audience of the King this day, having just received a courier with the news that the queen of the Romans was brought to bed of a daughter. The King told him, as he says, in a very obliging manner, that he had given orders to M. de Villars to take his audience of the Archduke in the manner the Emperor should think fit. So that at present this court seems desirous to oblige the Emperor as much as they can.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December 19—29. 1699.

I am glad to find Zealand has consented, and I doubt not but Overyssel has done the same; and that now Amsterdam stands out alone, you will be able to press her further. Count Tallard was with

sincerity of King William, or even of the dubious Dutch, yet the artifices they used to retard the signing of the treaty were so obvious that he thought it prudent to give instructions to the Marquis d'Harcourt, to try the method hinted at by Berlips, to the end that he might have an opportunity of treating with the Queen of Spain, if by any unforeseen accident the new treaty of Partition should break off. In the midst of this uncertainty, the King of Spain grew a great deal worse, so that they doubted of his life, the beginning of January 1700. The conference between the Marquis d'Harcourt and Berlips had been productive of no effect; and consequently no measure had been taken with the Queen." — *Memoirs of Torcy.*

* Count Zinzendorf, ambassador of the Emperor at the Court of France, had arrived at Paris in the last days of August 1699.

me yesterday, and asked whether powers were come from Holland to sign? I answered, No; that the consent to accede to the treaty was not yet general, but that I now had better hopes than before, that the Republic might be brought to it, and in a short time. He said, that the king his master should remain no longer in uncertainty; that he was very sorry the treaty was not concluded, even for his own sake; but that he was obliged to write to his court how this business was delayed, and did not know what orders he might receive after that; that if I would assure him that I would give him a positive answer in a fortnight or so, either yes or no, he would defer writing, but not otherwise. I answered, that it was impossible to fix so short a time; but that I promised him, immediately to tell him if the Republic should accede to this alliance; and still repeated, that I hoped to learn in a very short time that the Republic had resolved upon it, and I did not doubt but the treaty would be concluded. He said, he saw little appearance of it, and that he had long foreseen it, and must give account of it to his court. I said it was his duty so to do, but that I hoped he would relate the affair as it really was; that there never was a greater appearance of a speedy conclusion than at present. He was very much agitated, and took leave without saying a word more. During our discourse, he exclaimed much against the prejudice his king had suffered by this delay, which I strongly gainsaid, and showed that France could not have suffered any prejudice,

but that there was not much to be said in favour of remaining in an uncertainty much longer. So that I hope that affair will have a speedy issue in Holland; and as soon as it shall be resolved upon there, I am of your opinion that information of it should be given to Sweden, Brandenburg, and wherever else you may think necessary, in order to invite them to the guaranty of it.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, December 31. 1699.

I never see M. de Torcy but he speaks to me of the great affair. On Tuesday last I was there: I found him appearing a little more concerned. He said, that matters were still under such uncertainties, that they could not tell what to depend on; that he did not find that this affair was any way advanced; that the king of Spain had been indisposed again since his return to Madrid, and might die of a sudden, which probably would produce a new war in Europe, in case those measures that were proposed were not first agreed to. I could give him no other answer than that I believed he was satisfied nothing would be wanting on the king my master's part; and that I believed M. de Tallard was acquainted with what passed. He said he believed not; for that he had asked an audience of the King, but could not have it, by reason the King was to go to Hampton Court; and

that at that time there arrived three posts from Holland. I told him, that I did not doubt but M. de Tallard had told him how easy of access the King was; that I had seen him speak to the King about business, even without so much as asking an audience, or acquainting the Secretary of State with it. I said, as for myself, that I thought if M. de Tallard had not left Holland so soon, it might have facilitated this affair. To which M. de Torcy answered, that they had nothing to do with the States, having only treated with the king of England; that M. de Bonrepos was come to Paris, so that they had no ambassador there, seeming to insist very much on this point, that it was not in the least their business; that several months were passed since the time they had reason to believe this matter would have been finished, &c. I cannot tell but he expected some light from me, or it may be M. de Tallard is uneasy, and has made them so. I found by M. de Tallard, the night before he went from hence, that he thought by Christmas this matter would certainly be ended. He said, in case it had a good conclusion, he should be very glad to stay in England; if not, he hoped he should be recalled, and some other should be sent. It may be, that this court was of the same opinion; and that, finding the contrary, it makes them doubtful of what the success will be. M. de Torcy nevertheless did not seem to make any doubt; he only said, that in cases of this nature, time was not to be lost.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December 22. 1699. / January 1. 1700.

I have learnt with joy that Overyssel will, in all probability, have consented the following day, and consequently that you will have been enabled to press Amsterdam to conform, and not to remain singular. You will have seen by my last, that France will certainly remain no longer in uncertainty, and it is much to be wished that the affair could be brought to a speedy conclusion. The settling of the treaty, and the form of signing it, will require much ado and time, which will drive Tallard mad; for he will not negotiate in Holland, so that you must bethink yourself of some expedients.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, January 2—12. 1700.

I see with pain the little probability there is of Amsterdam's conforming to the other members of the Republic, in entering into a treaty with France about the Spanish succession; which puts me in the utmost perplexity what to do in this important affair, in case Amsterdam persists. It is certain that France will wait no longer, but will have a positive answer, yes or no; and I do not doubt but Count Tallard will come to speak with me next Friday, when I propose going to Kensington. I beg you will let me know what you

think I can do in these difficult matters; for there are so many difficulties on all sides, that I cannot see through them.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, January 5—15. 1700.

Count Tallard has been here to-day, but has not spoken a word, looking much out of humour. He has been seeing Count Aversberg for the last few days, which he has not done before, and affected great familiarity, by which he will probably insinuate that his master will endeavour to settle the great affair of the succession with the Emperor. This I do not think improbable, so that Amsterdam's complaisance or deference for the Imperial court may be of the utmost prejudice to us.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, January 9—19. 1700.

I am very glad that Amsterdam has consented. It is impossible for me to write you anything on this subject to-night; I must defer it to my next. I am also glad that Holland has consented to the treaty with Sweden. In my opinion, the negotiation should now be laid before the States-General direct, without sending it to the provinces, which would occasion a considerable loss of time. My only fear is that after taking into consideration the advanta-

geous conditions offered by France, Lillieroot may receive instructions from his court not to sign it.

THE EARL OF JERSEY TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Whitehall, January 11—21. 1700.

The great affair is come to a good conclusion, the province of Holland having consented to it, except some little reserve, which will be of no consequence. Your Excellency will be pleased, as you may occasionally discourse with M. de Torcy, to let him know this; which may prevent anything that Tallard may represent otherwise on this subject.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, January 12—22. 1700.

The Earl of Portland will inform you circumstantially, how he has adjusted all the remarks with Count Tallard. There seems nothing remaining to perfect this important work, but to find an expedient how to sign the treaty here, on the part of the Republic, with Count Tallard and my plenipotentiaries. Count Tallard would be very unwilling to go to the Hague, and I also think it would occasion a great *éclat;* for he has no pretext in the world for going thither. So that you ought immediately to devise in what manner it can be best arranged.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, January 29. 1700.

In obedience to your commands, I thought it proper to take the first opportunity I could, to see how M. de Tallard had represented the matter your Lordship mentioned in your last; and as it happened, my being at Versailles to see the ball gave me the opportunity, without giving him any sort of suspicion; and he might reasonably expect I should acquaint him with what I heard from your Lordship. I said, I understood that the province of Holland had consented with some reserve, which was of no consequence. Upon which he entered into a discourse about that matter; saying, he thought they in Holland were little acquainted with the methods of France, to think it necessary it should be registered in Parliament here, especially in a case that was not to take place but conditionally, and after a certain time; that it would be a means to make that matter more public, which was not convenient, considering what trouble it had given already. He spoke at first with a little warmth. Whether he might look on this act as some mistrust of them, or that it was laying too great a stress on the Parliament here, which, he said, was only a Court of Justice, I cannot tell. There would be the same inconvenience, if M. de Tallard should go to Holland, as was proposed; so that it would be better that M. Geldermalsum should have full

power to sign in England; or, in case one was not sufficient, there would be less notice taken of a person that should come from Holland, than of M. de Tallard's going thither. M. de Torcy was very easy, and told me, that M. de Tallard had made no answer as yet; but had acquainted him with these points, and desired orders thereupon, which he said were not yet sent. But he seemed to think the King could convince the States of these inconveniencies, which would make them alter their Resolutions, since they were not of any consequence. I said, I thought they were not, but could not tell what reasons the States might have to desire it; that I supposed, since this affair was brought to so good a conclusion, this would not delay it long; for either our ministers would convince M. de Tallard, or he would convince them.

I am of opinion this court has measures to keep with Spain, since the Imperialists have not consented, as I did perceive all the discourse tended to the keeping this matter as secret as it was possible.

I cannot inform you of what instructions M. de Tallard will have; but you will find his discoures will be much of this nature. It will be necessary that your Lordship should let me know how I am to act, in case there is no likelihood of the States altering their Resolutions in these points, that I may be informed of some of their reasons, so as to keep matters on a good foot here. I believe hitherto it had had that effect; for as often as M. de Torcy mentioned this matter, I still gave him

assurances that the King would contribute all he could on his part, which made him more easy than otherwise he would have been; for I did perceive that M. de Tallard had represented to him that he did always receive doubtful answers, and could not tell what to rely upon.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, February 2—12. 1700.

The Earl of Portland will inform you by this post, that he adjusted everything with Count Tallard yesterday; and that consequently the treaty will be signed in a few days. Secretary Vernon will also send you the signed treaty with Sweden. So that these two affairs are brought to an end.

The proposal, of which mention is made in your letter, tending to an accommodation between Spain and myself by means of the intervention of our respective ministers, is ridiculous. They must take me for a great simpleton, if at the court of Vienna they think that I would lend an ear to any proposal of the kind. The difference on the subject of Schonenberg has nothing to do with the affair of Canales—the latter ought to be discussed separately. I had flattered myself that the elector of Bavaria could have been able to do something good in that affair; but I see from your letter that they have written to him from Spain that the business has been wholly submitted to the Emperor. Hence I have no good opinion of this negotiation, unless some other course be pointed out.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, February 6—16. 1700.

I did think that the treaty would have been signed with Tallard, before the departure of this post; but as some difficulties have been raised by some of my council, to whom I had communicated it in great secrecy, it must be deferred till the next.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, March 31. 1700.

The treaty is come from Holland, though the counterpart be not yet, because, as M. de Torcy said, they could not tell but the courier might have been stopped in Flanders; so they would not send them together. It does begin to take air, and Count Zinzendorf has some notice of it, having discoursed to me of the several heads. I have been far from giving him any light into that matter; only so far, as I have often said before, when I found him alarmed at the illness of the king of Spain, that I thought it would be happy for Europe if there could be a compromise; but that that would very much depend on the Emperor. He said, I might be assured the Emperor would agree to anything that was reasonable. I avoided, always, going any further without orders; though I cannot see but he will be soon informed of this whole matter, whenever it is again proposed at Vienna.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, April 12—23. 1700.

At last I prorogued Parliament yesterday. It has been in truth the most dismal session I have ever had. The members have separated in great disorder, and after many extravagances. Unless one had been present, he could have no notion of their intrigues; one cannot even describe them.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, April 16—27. 1700.

I will speak to-morrow with Tallard about communicating the treaty to the court of Vienna and elsewhere, and will tell you next post what arrangements we have come to.

As for me, I do not see what can prevent our now communicating to France the treaty concluded with Sweden. Perhaps it would be a good opportunity to induce it to enter into a contract, similar to that of 1659, of which you make mention in your letter.

THE EARL OF JERSEY TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Whitehall, April 18—29. 1700.

It is agreed, that the affair should be notified at Vienna and Madrid. Your lordship will therefore desire M. de Torcy to acquaint you when he

imparts it to the Emperor's minister at Paris, that your lordship may no longer make the thing a secret to that minister.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, April 19—30. 1700.

I have spoken with Count Tallard, and agreed that M. Hop, the Marquis de Villars, and my secretary*, should immediately inform the court of Vienna of our treaty †, as you will learn more amply by the Earl of Portland, and probably Count Briord also. As for the Pope and Venice, we shall not trouble ourselves about them, and France alone will mention it in Spain; and we must wait for the answer from Vienna, before we can communicate it to the Northern crowns and the German princes. I shall not acquaint Count Aversberg of it before Sunday se'nnight, that our letters may first reach Vienna; you will write to Hop agreeably to this, and a post or two after notify it to Count Goes.

I had forgotten to write to you by last post that you should communicate the treaty to my envoy Stanhope, who is not informed of it, and who has been sent to you; but it is not necessary to apprise him of the secret article. I should be glad if you would take the trouble to make him fully acquainted with matters, for he is not up to the mark in the

* Mr. Robert Sutton.

† There will be found in the Appendix a full account of the negotiations of the Marquis de Villars at Vienna.

affairs of the Hague. I believe him to be a man of honour, and not without intelligence; it is certain that he will be guided by your instructions in every thing. He has been long in Spain, and may probably have to some extent contracted the habits of that country.*

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, May 8. 1700.

I desired M. de Torcy would let me know, when he would mention the late treaty to the Emperor's minister; and what measures they intended to take, that I might act conformable to them. He said he should take no notice of it to him, till next Tuesday sevennight; that they would send orders to M. de Villars (with a copy of the treaty) to communicate it to the Emperor; and to send back the

* Alexander Stanhope was only son of Philip Earl of Chesterfield by his second wife. In the reign of Charles II. he was gentleman-usher to the Queen; and on the accession of King William to the crown, his Majesty nominated him his envoy extraordinary to the king of Spain. He resided there till the death of this prince, and in 1700 he was appointed envoy extraordinary to the States-General. He continued in the same character till he was recalled, at his earnest request, about October 1706. He died the year after, on September 20th. He was the father of James, the first Earl Stanhope, and the founder of this noble family. His descendant, the present Viscount Mahon, published, some years ago, the most curious and important of his letters during his embassy at the court of Charles II.

courier at the expiration of eight days, in case he had no answer, and to declare that this king shall look upon it as a refusal; that lest the Emperor might engage the Pope, the French ambassador at Rome is to communicate it also, and to desire it may be kept a secret; that they think proper to act in the same manner with the republic of Venice, and they will impart it to their ambassador here about the same time they mention it to the Emperor's minister. As for Spain, they thought it not yet proper. He said they should now soon see the success of this great affair, and the King would have the honour of it, and the case was extremely changed in two years; that the King had now all the obligations and interests to wish for the life and welfare of our king, assuring me of the great concern he was under some time this winter, when they heard from M. de Tallard, that he was a little indisposed. This, I take it, is not unlikely, it being plainly their interest; else I should not easily be persuaded of their good intentions. I wish it was so elsewhere.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Hampton Court, May 2—13. 1700.

It is a good while since I writ to you last. The reason is, that, being always uncertain of the issue of the last session of Parliament, I was unwilling to answer any of your letters. You may judge what vexation all their extraordinary pro-

ceedings gave me, and, I assure you, your being deprived of what I gave you with so much pleasure was not the least of my griefs. I hope, however, that I shall be in a condition to acknowledge the good services you have done me, and, you may depend upon it, I shall earnestly seek occasions to do so. It ought to be some satisfaction to you, in the just resentment of what concerns you, that nobody could blame your conduct; on the contrary, all appeared satisfied with it, and the vote which passed in anger the last day, concerns you but indirectly.* And I can assure you, that you were in no way the occasion of it. There have been so many intrigues, in this last session, that, without having been on the spot and well informed of every thing, it cannot be conceived. It will be impossible for me to continue the commission of the Lords Justices in Ireland, as it is at present; so I have resolved to send thither the Duke of Shrewsbury as viceroy†, and that you command the army under him. Do not think this will be a degradation; nobody here will take it to be so, and I know that every one wishes it and believes it absolutely ne-

* King William alludes to the Resolution of the House of Commons, April 9th, "that an address be made to his Majesty that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except the Prince of Denmark, be admitted to his Majesty's councils in England or Ireland." To prevent the presenting of which, the King went to the house on the 11th of April (O. S.), and prorogued the parliament to the 23rd of May.

† The Duke of Shrewsbury refusing to go to Ireland, there was no change made in the government till the king's return from Holland.

cessary for my service. I am fully persuaded, as I hope, that you will not refuse to accept of this command, nor relinquish my service. I assure you, I never had more occasion, than at present, of persons of your capacity and fidelity. I hope I shall find opportunities to give you marks of my esteem and friendship, and I would not engage you in this, were I not assured that no hurt can happen to you from it: but I know it will meet with a general approbation, and doubt not your friends will say the same, and I am glad to tell you, you have a great many and among all parties.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, May 19. 1700.

Yesterday M. de Torcy acquainted the Emperor's minister of the whole affair. He seemed mightily surprised, and complained much of the proceedings of our king, taking notice of the many engagements that have been made between his master and him. To which M. de Torcy answered, that he thought he had no reason to complain, after what had passed on that subject at Vienna, and that the Emperor had been informed of every thing that was now agreed to; that this matter was not of a new nature, for that there had been a secret treaty between the Emperor and France concerning the succession of Spain, in 1668. When I saw M. de Torcy he told me all that had passed, and I was glad to hear of this secret treaty, that

being a good argument to M. de Zinzendorf, as you will find afterwards. He soon took notice of it to me, and began much in the same manner as with M. de Torcy. I told him I wondered to see him so much surprised, since, for some time, he always assured me there was such a matter in agitation, and that it was concluded; that if he would consider a little, he would be convinced that the King had not only considered the interest of Europe, but in particular that of the Emperor; that what might be very doubtful, and even not likely to be obtained by a war, might now be secured by a peace, if they pleased. He said, what faith can be expected, if the Pyrenean treaty, and the renunciation that France made, was not valid? To this I answered, that I believed the Emperor did not take it to be a full decision in relation of Spain, else he would not have made a secret treaty with France in 1668, wherein he yielded much more, as I was informed. I then proceeded to show him the situation of affairs. I represented the power of France, the interest they have in Italy, as also in Spain; and besides what he had often told me, that it was feared that the Spaniards would declare themselves for a prince of France; that I was of opinion, that he himself would think at last that this was the only way to prevent it, and that they had it now in their power. Upon the whole matter he seemed partly convinced, and he begins now to think that the King could obtain no better conditions, and that the only difficulty that will remain is what

relates to Milan. I left him to judge, whether he thought the princes of Italy would be contented, that either France or the Emperor was master there.

After this discourse he went again to M. de Torcy, and desired a copy of the treaty, which he said he would send him, and then made him some proposals as from himself, that he might be the better able to inform his master; which he afterwards acquainted me with, and which I send your Lordship in his own words, as well as I can remember them. He is now so apprehensive lest Spain should declare for France, as you will see by the questions he asked M. de Torcy, that he will do what he can for the treaty; and it is thought he is very well with the Emperor. He sends this day an express to Vienna, and, I think, one to Count Harrach in Spain, as does also the Spanish ambassador whom M. de Torcy has acquainted with the treaty, and given him a copy of it. He only said it was a matter above his understanding, but he would not fail to inform his master of it. The Venetian ambassador is also acquainted with it; and M. de Caillières goes this week to the duke of Lorraine to notify it to him. So your lordship will judge it will not be long a secret.

Count Zinzendorf asked M. de Torcy of his own accord, after the agreement betwixt England, France, and Holland, had been shown him:—

1. "Whether France will consent to the Arch-

duke's going into Spain, during the life of his Catholic Majesty?" M. de Torcy's answer: "France does consent to it, on the condition that the Emperor accepts the conditions."

2. "Whether, in case the Spaniards would make choice of a French prince within the given term of three months, it be agreed not to give ear to the proposals of Spain?" "Yes, it is agreed."

3. "That the cession of the kingdom of Naples ought, in my opinion, to be understood as only to the descendants of Queen Mary Teresa; and that it is by no means to be incorporated with the crown nor the house of France." — "That this will be made easy, and that there will be no difficulties about it."

4. "Whether there was any room to hope, that France would change or accommodate some things in the treaty?" — "That the King was in so good a disposition that he would come into any thing; and that this treaty was not of that nature that nothing could be changed in it, so it be done by the common consent of England, France, and Holland."

THE EARL OF JERSEY TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Hampton Court, May 13—24. 1700.

I have your letter of the 19th, and laid it before the King. His Majesty approves of what has been said to Count Zinzendorf, concerning the treaty only as to the second query:—"Whether, in case the Spaniards would make choice of a French prince,

within the given term of three months, it be agreed not to give ear * to the proposals of Spain?"—A. "Yes, it is agreed."—The sense of these words is it not this? that though the Spaniards should, within the three months, propose to make choice of any prince of the House of Bourbon, yet the French shall not in that case hearken to such a proposition, but shall adhere to what is literally prescribed in the treaty. Your lordship will see in discoursing with M. de Zinzendorf, if he does not understand it thus; and take care, that it be so explained to M. de Torcy as to leave no room for any difficulty.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, May 14—25. 1700.

Count Tallard came to see me to-day, and gave me a long account, or read me a long lecture on what has taken place at Paris, on the occasion of the notification made by Torcy to the ambassadors of Spain, Venice, and Austria, of the treaty which we have concluded; but Count Briord will probably acquaint you with all the circumstances, and hence it is useless for me to enter into particulars. I will only say that the questions of Count Zinzendorf appear to me to be singular. He must have received from his Court instructions *in eventum:* otherwise, it would be imprudent, methinks, on the part of a minister to hazard questions of that kind without instructions.

* Attendre.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, May 26, 1700.

The only discourse we have here is concerning the treaty with England, and I have made some inquiry which way it could come to be so soon public; and it happened thus: the King sent for MONSIEUR Thursday last, and informed him of it, and even of the particulars, saying, it was no longer a secret, for he had informed most of the princes of Europe of it. This was sufficient to make it known, and it was certainly designed so. It does occasion different opinions, though I find, that the more they consider, the more they approve of it. The Italian ministers were the most alarmed by what the French are to have in Italy, with the several ports, which makes them masters there whenever they please. But the chief point is, that all these places are annexed to the crown of France. They say, if they were to go to a younger son, that might make all that matter easy. We are to see here M. de Torcy to-morrow, the court being still at Marly, and then I shall be better able to give you an account how affairs stand. I hear the Spanish ambassador does act very prudently, and has softened the matter as much as possible to the court of Spain.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, May 29. 1700.

I never fail, when the ministers here speak of the King, to assure them of the particular esteem he has for his Most Christian Majesty, etc. and I had yesterday a good opportunity of repeating it at a conference I had with M. de Torcy about the treaty. I am of opinion that the Emperor's minister here will press that matter at the court of Vienna, he being more convinced than ever that it is for his master's interest to agree to it; and M. de Torcy did own to me, that he found him much altered since the last time he saw him; and he told me of the propositions he had made him, and which I have already acquainted you with. The courier which was sent to M. de Villars, is expected back every day, and will give us some light as to which way this will turn. The duke of Lorraine has acceded, but it is at present a secret, as M. de Torcy says, because he is willing to keep measures with the Emperor, as you will be told by M. de Tallard, if he has not told you already.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, $\frac{\text{May 21.}}{\text{June 2.}}$ 1700.

Count Tallard told me that an express which arrived this morning, has brought him the news that the duke of Lorraine had absolutely ac-

cepted Milan in exchange for his duchy. This is a very prompt resolution in a matter of such importance. I am of opinion that the ministers of Lorraine will be gained over. The ambassador has also told me that the duke was ready forthwith to conclude the treaty with us, but that he was anxious the matter should be kept secret for some time, to save appearances with the court of Vienna.

I send you a letter I have received from the elector of Bavaria. In reply I told him that the matter was so, and that I would acquaint him with the reasons that have prevented me from communicating with him sooner; and that I trusted the treaty would not be so unfavourable to him as he feared. I confess that I feel myself in some embarrassment with him. We have always been such good friends, and after having entertained such high hopes, to see oneself reduced to so little! I beg you will advise me as to what can now be done for the worthy elector; if, for instance, it would not be expedient to send some one to his court with a few soothing words.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, June 2. 1700.

I am sensible the second proposition of M. de Zinzendorf might have been plainer by the word "écouter" instead of "attendre;" but I was willing to keep his own words, not having then

discoursed with M. de Torcy; though I now find his answer went further, and on that query he said, "provided the Emperor within the term of three months signed and ratified; else they should not think themselves obliged." This he added, in order to leave him in more doubt, which he thought was proper at present; though he said it was not very likely the Spaniards would now be more their friends; and, besides, this king would keep strictly to what is prescribed by the treaty. I afterwards talked to M. de Zinzendorf, who understands it in your lordship's sense, and I did explain to him further what M. de Torcy had told me concerning that matter. At first he did not entirely agree to it, though there was little difference, so that there can be no ill consequence from it; and this matter is so settled that I hope the King will approve of it.

M. de Torcy made some excuse to me, and said, the time would not permit them to consult first with the King in relation to the duke of Lorraine, and told me, they had sent a project to be signed by him, and it was not convenient to let this matter cool; that some conditions were sent, but such as would cause no dispute: as, 1. that the duke is not to quit Lorraine till he is in possession of Milan; 2. that Milan should go to his heirs and family, as Lorraine now does; 3. that the Dauphin should renounce all his claim; 4. that they would not agree with the Emperor till the investiture from him was settled, if necessary, in relation to Milan. M. de Tallard has a copy of this project; and,

when it is signed, which will be very soon, it will be necessary that the King and the States-General should sign an act to confirm the same.

M. de Villars has communicated the treaty to the Emperor, who declared in general terms, that he was very much inclined to the peace of Europe. By the courier which he was to send eight days after, he will explain that matter further. M. de Torcy says, they have an answer from the French ambassador at Rome, and the Pope seems to approve of the treaty.

The secret treaty of 1668 was signed by the father of Count Aversberg who is now with you. The Emperor then consented, that France should have Naples and Sicily, all Flanders, and the Philippine islands. Count Zinzendorf says he was banished for that reason.

M. de Torcy asked me, whether M. Hop was not to speak as well from the King as from the States; and said it would be proper our secretary there should also speak at last to the ministers. I told him I could not tell, but I supposed M. Hop had such orders.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, $\frac{\text{May 25.}}{\text{June 6.}}$ 1700.

We must no longer defer communicating the grand treaty to all the courts, considering that it is every where publicly known; and they should be invited to accede to it. I expect that the elector of

Brandenburg will take it highly amiss that it was not communicated to him sooner, and that it contains no stipulation with reference to what is due to him from Spain.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, June 9. 1700.

The courier which M. de Villars was to send back from Vienna eight days after his arrival, is come back. M. de Villars writes, that he had discoursed with Count Kaunitz; that he was pressed to stay some days before he sent back the courier; that, when they found he could not do it, they let him know that the Emperor would, in ten days' time, give him a positive answer; and that he would not take any measures with Spain; and they believed it would be such an answer as he would think worth sending by another express. So they think here this matter is in a good way. He told me further, that the duke of Lorraine desired an explanation concerning the sovereignty of Bitche, which, by the treaty, is to go to the Prince of Vaudemont; that the duke had reasons to think he had no right to it at present, and therefore whatever he signed should not prejudice his title, till the treaty took place. This we have allowed him, and they understand that the Prince of Vaudemont is to have the sovereignty when the exchange is made.

M. de Torcy took notice to me again, that the French king would act in nothing without con-

sulting the King, and he supposed he was fully satisfied of it, and that he approved of what had been done. I thought it proper to assure him of it. It is certain, the credit and reputation of the King was never so great here as it is now. Though I can never be persuaded they love him; yet I am confident they esteem him, and desire his friendship.

I must tell your lordship, all agree, that the duke of Savoy is rightly served. His minister here is very uneasy.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, June 16. 1700.

I find the French design very soon to communicate the treaty in all parts, as M. de Torcy says, since England says there is no occasion of deferring it, especially in those parts of Germany where the King has no ministers; but, where he has, it is necessary they should all act at the same time. The French intend and think it convenient to do it to the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt and the duke of Saxe-Gotha, who were forgot. As for the electors of Hanover and Bavaria, they leave that to us, the elector of Hanover not being yet owned as such by this court.* The French minister at

* Hanover had been created a ninth electorate by the Emperor in 1692, but in consequence of the opposition of the other electoral houses it was not till 1708 that George was admitted into the Electoral College.

Mantua is to have orders to communicate it there and at Parma. And they have given their order for Turin. The duke of Lorraine has not yet signed, though he pretends he will. He has called a council of twelve persons, since which he has desired many explanations from this court to what concerns his own country, that so they may have the same privileges when under France. Some are allowed, but he desires also not to be a guarantee of the treaty, which desire is of such a nature that it cannot be agreed to. We shall soon find whether all this is not to gain time, and to see what the Emperor will do.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, June 7—18. 1700.

I am sorry to be obliged to tell you that affairs go on very badly in the Scotch Parliament. People there are like fools, on the subject of their colony of Darien, which they will not tolerate in England: this causes me great annoyance. What vexes me in particular is that this affair retards my departure for Holland, for which I long more than ever. I shall become ill, if I have to remain here longer: I have been indisposed for some days, but am now better.

MR. ROBERT SUTTON TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Vienna, June 19. 1700.

Understanding that it would not be unacceptable to your Excellency to know what measures the Emperor takes in relation to the treaty newly concluded with France, I could not but rejoice at an occasion of doing your lordship any pleasure, and take the liberty to acquaint you, that the Emperor has not hitherto taken any resolutions touching the treaty. All that has been declared is, that the Emperor, for reasons very well known, thought himself obliged to communicate with Spain, which is the party most concerned in his opinion, and that afterwards he would return an answer, which perhaps we may be forced to wait for till towards the end of the term allowed him. In the meantime your Excellency will easily judge the agreements to be very unwelcome to this court. Some of the ministers do not hide their high dislike of it. But nevertheless, though they do not explain themselves, I believe it is past doubt, that the Emperor will at length enter into it. The necessity of it is very clear, and will be often repeated to them.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, June 14—25. 1700.

I will not communicate to you several proposals that Count Tallard has made to me relative to the

execution of the treaty, and especially to the notification and requisition, for he told me that Count Briord had received the same instructions, and hence you will be perfectly informed of them before the arrival of my letter. I think they are in entire harmony with your sentiments. I trust, by the favour of Heaven, that I shall be able to start from here in the beginning of next month. I cannot express to you how ardently I long to breathe the air of Holland.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, June 26. 1700.

The court being at Marly, M. de Torcy came on Thursday last to Paris, and in the conference I had with him, he told me, that the duke of Lorraine had himself signed the treaty with M. de Caillière, and at the same time had wrote to the French king, that, notwithstanding he did not insist on the several explanations and the proposals he had made, yet he hoped they would be granted him. The chief point, and which he desires most, is, that he may not be looked upon as a guarantee, since he has neither troops nor money to maintain it, in case of a war. Besides, to act against the Emperor, he thought, was what, in gratitude, he ought not to do. It was not proper to allow him this, as I take it, for very good reasons; since it would have been an example to others to make the same difficulty,

and especially to those who have not the same advantage by this treaty. Yet it is explained to him, that it is not expected he shall give any other assistance than a free passage through his country, in the same manner as he is already obliged to do by the treaty of Ryswick. He also consents to send some full power to sign it at the Hague, as I understand the King desires. Most of the other things he desires, and of which I think I formerly acquainted you, relate to his own country when it shall be subject to France, and most of this is granted him. It was well he did not stay for an answer from Vienna; for, as I perceive, there is but little inclination there to agree to the treaty, as it is now: for, I take it, you will see them play another sort of game. M. de Zinzendorf's courier is returned, and he told me, that his orders were to assure me, that his master was as much inclined as any body to preserve the peace of Europe; but as the treaty was communicated in Spain, he could not come to any resolution till he had heard from thence. I did perceive there was something more, and especially since I saw him so impatient to see M. de Torcy, which he did press very much; and he saw him on Tuesday at a house near Marly, where he told him he had orders from the Emperor to offer the Dauphin, instead of what he was to have in Italy, the West Indies. M. de Torcy said (as he tells me, and I cannot but think this court will act sincerely) that the proposition was of such a nature, that he did not think it proper to acquaint the King with it, neither could he imagine that England

and Holland could agree to it. To which M. de Zinzendorf answered that France was able to maintain it by their fleet and troops, if they would accept of it. When he found this would not do, then he proposed, as from himself, that France should have Sardaigne and Luxemburg, in lieu of Lorraine, and the Emperor Milan. This was as extraordinary as the other. At last, he said it was impossible for the Emperor to agree to the ninth article, — viz. that the kingdom of Spain shall never descend to any one that shall be at the same time Emperor, or king of France, &c. After some further arguments that passed, M. de Torcy asked, whether the Emperor would sign the treaty in case this article was suppressed. He could not say any thing positively to that. I cannot tell but France would be easy enough in this alteration; but I take it to be against the interest of Europe to have it so. When M. de Torcy acquainted me with this, I told him that what he had proposed was, in my opinion, of great consequence, and very unlikely to be agreed to by whoever might approve of the treaty. Spain might then possibly be joined to the Empire, &c. He did own it would have its difficulties; and said, the French king would not hearken to any proposal but by common consent. I must take notice to your Lordship, that M. de Villars was only acquainted with the first proposition, — viz. that of the Indies; and even that was not communicated to M. Hop. I have not taken any notice of all this matter to M. de Zinzendorf, nor do intend it,

though M. de Torcy said I might as to the first proposal, he having declared he made it by order.

M. de Torcy then told me, that the treaty had been communicated to the king of Portugal, who talked of it as if he could never consent to it; and accordingly the French minister there sent away on the 4th instant the courier. When the King perceived this, he soon changed his mind, and so another was despatched, by whom he agrees entirely to the treaty on the following conditions: 1. if the Emperor does not consent within the time limited, that then he may be one in the naming of another prince; 2. that he may have two places yielded to him that formerly belonged to Portugal (one was Alcantara, but I do not remember the other); 3. that if he be attacked by reason of this treaty, those who are concerned in it shall be obliged to assist him. M. de Torcy did seem to think it was worth granting him these terms, since it was the only way to engage him heartily in it; and as for the first article, there would still be three against one.

The same courier brought letters from Madrid with this account, that the council that had been assembled upon the notification of the treaty, where the King was not present, had agreed, that the best advice they could give the King was, that he should declare a prince of France for his successor: the Count de Aguilar being the only one that did not consent to it; that the Queen had pressed the King to disapprove of this resolution, which he would not do; and that as yet he had

not declared himself. The Count Harrach had discoursed with several of them, and especially with the Cardinal Portocarrero, and others whom he thought in the Emperor's interest; and they all answered, that it was the only good advice they could give their king.

M. de Torcy thinks it proper that our envoy in Switzerland should have orders to speak privately to several of the chief of them, and say, it is expected they do give leave to any troops to pass their country in case of a war, this king intending to give the same instructions to M. de Puysieux, and order him to say that they were to observe the same method our king had done, and not to mention this matter in public.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, June 18—29. 1700.

I think you are perfectly right with regard to what still remains to be done relative to the notification and the invitation to be made to the sovereigns. It is of no use to impart to you what Count Tallard has communicated to me to-day: you will, doubtless, be informed of it by Count Briord. The news from Spain does not astonish me, for I had expected such a resolution as that, or one very like it. It will make the Emperor resolve the sooner to join the treaty. I await with impatience your opinion of the erasure of the ninth article, which France appears to desire; but if her intention should in

that case be to obtain the succession in the event of the Archduke dying without children, of this I have no knowledge. I am surprised that Zinzendorf speaks with so little reserve. I have difficulty in believing that he has such comprehensive instructions from Vienna. Though the treaty with Lorraine is concluded, we must still act in such a way that France will further explain herself in favour of the Prince of Vaudemont.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, $\frac{\text{June 21.}}{\text{July 2.}}$ 1700.

There is nothing at present worth communicating to you. I trust, by the blessing of heaven, to leave here this day fortnight, unless something unforeseen occurs, which I trust will not be the case, for nobody can long more ardently than I do for my return to Holland.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, $\frac{\text{June 26.}}{\text{July 7.}}$ 1700.

I received to-day your letter containing your observations on the erasure, or the alteration, of the ninth article of the treaty. For my part I should not make much difficulty about it, if by this means the affair could be definitively settled to the

entire satisfaction of the Imperial Court. Meanwhile I approve of the reply you have given to Briord; and I am of opinion that we ought to adhere to this, until we have received further intelligence from Vienna.

I was surprised to find from the letter of Schonenberg the sudden change which has taken place at Madrid. I do not conceive the cause of it. I am very well satisfied with the accommodation proposed by the Marquis de Leganez. I have caused Schonenberg to be written to on this subject; and I wish the same thing to be done by the States. I beg you will also communicate it to Quiros in my name. I still count on leaving here next Thursday.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. R. SUTTON.

Paris, July 9. 1700.

I am obliged to you for your letting me know what thoughts they have where you are concerning the treaty, and I find you write much the same with what they have here from thence. I cannot but think the Emperor will judge so well of his own interest as to accept it at last, especially when he sees Spain is inclined to settle the whole succession on a prince of France, which I suppose you have heard of. All the council, except Count d'Aguilar, were of opinion, that the best advice they could give their king, at this juncture of affairs, was for him to declare the Duke of Anjou his successor. I cannot tell but this may make

some alterations at your court, and bring them to a speedy resolution. I am told that Count Kaunitz is ill, and that this makes the affairs not go so well as otherwise they would.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Hampton Court, July 2—13. 1700.

Of all the proofs you have given me of your attachment to my service, I do not reckon as the least the spirit of resignation you evince to me with respect to your office in Ireland. I assure you that you could not have done me a greater service at this juncture, and one which I shall regard as quite a particular favour. You will have doubtless heard that the Duke of Shrewsbury has excused himself from going to Ireland. I shall make no change in the government till after my return from Holland, whither I set out the day after to-morrow.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, July 17. 1700.

The last time I saw M. de Torcy, he told me (which he said was forgotten) that it would be proper I should have orders to take notice of the treaty concerning the succession of Spain to those Italian ministers that come from courts where our King has none, and to desire their masters to enter

into the treaty, as France has already done, as a means to secure the peace of Europe. I said I had no orders, but that I would write about it. As for Modena, I thought it was not proper for me to take notice of, which he agreed in; so that there are Savoy, Venice, Mantua, and Genoa. I intend to speak again to M. de Torcy, and have a further explanation.

I send you a letter from M. d'Hervaert*, who has communicated the treaty. M. de Torcy tells me, that it is thought that the Swiss Cantons will hardly enter into the guaranty, but they may consent to have troops raised in their country, in case of a war. On that occasion he said also, that he had sent to the French ambassador in Portugal a copy of the treaty to be signed by that king in the manner it was agreed on in England. He tells me that the duke of Savoy answered with great professions, but in general terms, when the treaty was communicated to him; that the French ambassador there had now orders to let him know that the king his master had reason to hope he might have had a more positive answer from him, especially since there was a discourse as if he had made a treaty with the Emperor; which, as he did not believe, so it was necessary such discourses should be discouraged, and that the world should see the contrary; that as M. de la Tour is going for England †, the French king was glad that he took all

* Envoy of King William to the Swiss Cantons.

† He was a few months before envoy of the Duke of Savoy in England.

the ways to cultivate the friendship of the king of England. This will certainly put him on some difficulties how to explain himself.

I saw by a letter from Milan, that the Prince de Vaudemont is confirmed in his government for three years*; and as a farther sense the king of Spain has of his fidelity, he has given the Golden Fleece to his son.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. BLATHWAYT.

Paris, July 23. 1700.

I have very little to acquaint you with this post, only that M. de la Tour is here, and as soon as he has waited on this king, he intends for Holland. I have seen him, and by his discourse I find he does not think to go into England when the King returns, though the Savoy ambassador here told me that he was to reside there, and so he told this court. It will depend much on the success in what he goes about; and I must tell you, that it occasions many conjectures here, especially since it is known that the duke of Savoy has of late sent many expresses to Vienna, which this Court does not like; and I have reasons to think it will press him to declare what his intentions are, it being his misfortune to be so well known, that it will be hard

* Prince de Vaudemont had been appointed, after the peace of Ryswick, Governor of the duchy of Milan by the king of Spain.

for him to play the same game over again. His ambassador here is much dejected, and at the last conference I had with M. de Torcy, he was seen to come from him in great disorder.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, July 30. 1700.

It appears to me that you have made a very good reply to the ambassador of France respecting the accession to the grand alliance with regard to the Spanish succession. I am quite of your opinion that nothing but the simple fact of accession to the alliance is necessary, under a formal treaty, such as is customary in an alliance during war. As for the guarantee, it is included in the same treaty, and is reciprocal. There might be a few particular cases where an exception would be possible.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. BLATHWAYT.

Paris, July 30. 1700.

M. de la Tour sets out in a day or two for Loo. His business there is, to lay before the King the state of the debts due from the crown of Spain to his master. He had an audience of the French king, whereat he has assured him that the duke of Savoy is under no engagements with the Emperor, nor does he dispute the right of the Dauphin; but

hopes that, at this juncture, he may also be considered, in that which he thinks he has so much right to. I am of opinion this Court is now satisfied with his going, and will help him as much as they can, in case he signs the treaty, which they told M. de la Tour is the first step that ought to be made. I have not discoursed with him about anything of this matter, but most of this account I had from M. de Torcy.

The letters from Spain bring nothing very considerable, only that the great men there are still inclined for a prince of France, that so their monarchy may not be divided.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Paris, August 11. 1700.

An express arrived yesterday from Madrid, in his way to Vienna. He brings no further account of the Queen of Spain's being with child; yet Count Harrach had complimented her upon the report, which some think he might as well have let alone. Her answer to him was, that God would do what he pleased. I find that in Spain they are resolved to court the king our master. Schonenberg has been admitted to an audience of the King*, and

* "The Spaniards have made an end of the business of Schonenberg, having admitted him to the functions of his character, that they might be at liberty to send their ministers to England and to Holland. Don Quiros was expected within

what passed in relation to Canales in England will be forgot, and another will be named. Don Quiros is certainly ordered to return to the Hague. All this matter has been brought about by the Queen, and it is said that our king has wrote to her, which has produced this good effect. In short, the Spanish ambassador here takes all occasions to oblige me.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Loo, August 15. 1700.

It is some time since I received your letter of the 13th of July, in which you desire to know on whom I have cast my eyes for the government of Ireland; and, as I am sure that what I write you will be secret, I scruple not to tell you, that I intend to give it to Lord Rochester, and to declare it at my return to England; but he will not go to Ireland till the next spring. You will easily conceive the reasons of it. I shall expect your thoughts of a matter that concerns you, and you may always rely on my friendship.

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a day or two at the Hague, and either he or another will be in England this winter."— *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* August 22. O. S. 1700.

MR. R. SUTTON TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Neustadt, August 18. 1700.

I am sorry to acquaint your Excellency that the resolution we have so long expected from the Emperor, in relation to the treaty for regulating the succession of Spain, is not such as was desired. Count Harrach has to-day acquainted M. de Villars, and M. Hop, separately, that he was commanded by the Emperor to impart to them, for their masters' information, that his Imperial Majesty, considering the king of Spain to be in good health, and of such an age that he might very well, with the blessing of God, hope for issue of his own, did not think it becoming, especially him that was his uncle, to make a division of his succession. He added to M. de Villars, that the Emperor hoped this answer would not interrupt the good intelligence between himself and his Most Christian Majesty; and that he would not proceed to the nomination of a third, which would but embroil matters the more; that when the succession happened to fall, the Emperor thought it justly belonged to him; and after the extinction of the male line of the House of Austria, to the duke of Savoy, according to Philip the IVth's will. He told M. Hop, also, that the Emperor desired to continue in a good understanding with the King and the States-General. I cannot see Count Harrach to-night, but shall doubtless receive the same answer from him to-morrow. If there be anything different in it, I will acquaint your Lordship with

it by the first opportunity. Your Excellency is much abler than I am to judge of the consequences of the Emperor's resolutions. He certainly reckons upon the friendship of the Spanish court; but although he be sure of it, I cannot see how it will answer the expectation he may have of it, or what other means he has to hinder the performance of the agreement already made.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. BLATHWAYT.

Paris, August 20. 1700.

In the conference I have had with M. de Torcy, he told me what had passed at the audience which the Spanish ambassador had some days ago. The substance of it was to dissuade the King from proceeding any farther in the treaty concerning the succession. He said that the king his master was like to live a long time; that his health was better than ever it was; that he had named no person to succeed him, nor would he. This king answered that no person wished more for his master's health than himself; that all men are mortal; that he had no other design in what he had done but the peace of Europe. The Spanish ambassador discoursed afterwards with M. de Torcy, who took notice to him, that the resolutions that were taken in Spain, about suppressing all pensions, were in order to maintain a considerable number of forces, which might create jealousies,

especially if they were foreign troops. To which he answered, that they had been long enough the jest of Europe by having their affairs in so ill a condition; that every man was master in his own country, &c. I find by M. de Torcy, that the French are apprehensive that the Emperor's troops are to go to Milan and Naples; and he said it had been already proposed to the republic of Venice to pass 20,000 men through their territories; and if so, he thought it would be necessary that the French troops that are near Catalonia should have orders to march to the frontiers of Spain; not that he believed there would be any occasion of proceeding further, but that this would be sufficient to hinder the Germans from going into Italy. This he desired the King should know. I am satisfied that there is something of this nature in hand, by what M. Zinzendorf lets fall sometimes in his discourses. M. de Torcy said, that they intended to press for the Emperor's answer concerning the treaty, and that it would be convenient we should do it also.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, August 21. 1700.

I think you have exceedingly well laid hold of the three points that have been proposed by the ambassadors of France; and it will give me great pleasure if you will reply to them in my name, on that understanding. It would be quite against my

intention to be at present involved in a war for a treaty which I concluded only with a view to prevent it. The French are a hasty people, and like to do every thing with *hauteur;* but that is not our way. To satisfy the curiosity of the ambassadors of France, I can inform you that de la Tour said no more to me than to you; but that I could infer from his conversation that the duke of Savoy would willingly give all his lands and estates in exchange for Naples and Sicily, or even Savoy for Milan; and it appears to me that this is the object of his journey or mission.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, August 26. 1700.

I have to-day received the Resolution of the States-General, containing the orders addressed to Hop and Schonenberg, with respect to a mutual engagement not to commence any violent proceedings during the lifetime of the king of Spain. I quite approve of this resolution, and shall in consequence despatch instructions to my ministers at Madrid and Vienna. One would say from the reply of the Emperor, that they were acquainted at Vienna with the contents of the secret article.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, August 27. 1700.

M. de Torcy acquainted me yesterday with the answer the Emperor has given to M. de Villars. He refuses to enter into any treaty concerning the succession of Spain as long as the king of Spain lives, and hopes they will not proceed to the naming of another prince, which may have ill consequences, and oblige him to take measures to defend his right. He said, had he seen me in the morning, he should have complained very much of the coolness and indifference they showed in Holland in this affair; that though M. de Tallard did assure them the Emperor had concerted with Spain that his troops were to march into Italy, yet it was not thought fit to take any measures to prevent it; but that by the letter he just then received from M. de Tallard, he sees and tells me that the king our master does agree, that both in Spain and Vienna their ministers shall have orders to declare against it. This court does intend to press the duke of Savoy to enter into into a treaty with France, if he is not already engaged with the Emperor. It cannot be his interest to have the German troops so near him, and in case he refuses France, it will be a demonstration that he is acting otherwise than he has assured them.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Breda, September 7. 1700.

I quite approve of the resolution that has been taken to require Quiros to send an express for the revocation of the instructions which might have been given to the governors in Italy about receiving foreign troops. I beg you will address the same requisition to Quiros in my name, and write also on the subject to Schonenberg, as Blathwayt is not here. You have indeed guessed very well that France and the duke of Savoy had agreed to exchange the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily for Savoy and Piedmont: though de la Tour has not spoken of it to you, yet it is pretty clear from the conversation the ambassadors of France have held with you. It is a very important affair, and one on which we must reflect maturely and without haste.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Dieren, September 12. 1700.

I have read the treaty between France and Portugal; but I could not enter into it except on condition of a general admission agreeably to the plans of admission and acceptance, and in the way you propose with regard to the Republic. I foresee that if you say this from me to the French ambassadors, they will be very dissatisfied, and

will take it amiss; but I think I have justice on my side, and propriety does not permit one thus to be dictated to. It is true that if the States and myself do not enter into this alliance, it will dissolve like snow; hence if any middle course could be found, I should show myself pretty complaisant, except, however, with regard to the cession of these two towns, which must be erased from the treaty.

I anticipate great difficulties on the part of the princes, who may wish to join the treaty, so long as another prince has not been nominated to replace the Archduke; for most of them might find it strange that we should speak of guaranteeing a succession, without knowing who is the heir. I have carefully reflected on this exchange of Naples and Sicily for Savoy and Piedmont, and I begin to like this project better than I did at first. I should like if you too would give it some serious thoughts. I have had a long conversation with the elector of Bavaria, on a multitude of matters. I should like to tell you about it; but as this can hardly be done in a letter, I beg you will come to me when the assembly of the States of Holland is over.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, September 21. 1700.

I received to-day the resolution of the States-General relative to the affair of Portugal. I quite approve of it, and will send instructions in con-

formity thereto to my ambassador at Lisbon. I trust that Blathwayt will despatch them to-night: you will thus receive them to-morrow, and be able to remit them forthwith to the ambassador of France for further transmission by his courier.

The elector of Brandenburg will return to-morrow to the Hague, taking Utrecht and Amsterdam on his way: you will thus have the opportunity of speaking to Count Dona. He has shown me the articles of the treaty with the Emperor: it is not yet concluded; but I fear that it will not be long before it is so.* The Elector is so embued with royalty, that he will for its sake submit to whatever we please. Count Dona says that the deceased elector entered into an engagement to furnish 8000 men to the Emperor for the maintenance of the succession of Spain; that the treaty has still six years to last; that the Elector thereby regains subsidies which have always been discharged; and that these forces cannot be employed out of the empire. The Emperor now demands 10,000 men without limitation of use. It is now evident that we shall not gain over any of the German princes to our treaty with France: the only thing we can do will be, as you propose, to induce to a neutral course some of those who are not allied to the Emperor, and France must be satisfied

* The great object of the elector of Brandenburg was to change his electoral into a royal title. The Emperor gratified him at last in this respect; and on the 18th of January, 1701, he put the royal crown on his own head, and became king of Prussia.

therewith. It is very unfortunate that this power chooses to interfere in the matter of the ninth electorate so far as to join the party of the contesting princes; and even to be their guarantee; a course which cannot fail not only to produce great confusion, but even to upset all our labour, if, as the discoveries appear to show, Denmark should also meddle with it. It will be necessary to put every stone in motion to prevent this step, and it will be a good thing if you were to talk to van Stucken about it, while we might speak of it also to Ples after his return from England.

M. SCHONENBERG TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Madrid, September 23. 1700.

I don't doubt but your Excellency is informed of the answer of this court to the last Memorial of the French Envoy Extraordinary, to make it change its resolution of receiving any Imperial or other foreign troops into its dominions in Italy. As I have also represented on the same subject by express order as well of the king our master as the States-General, they have almost word for word answered to it in the same manner; that is to say, in short, that they pretend here to be at liberty, and under pretence of recruiting the foreign troops who serve in the Spanish pay, to introduce them when they shall judge it to be proper. The said court plunges itself more and more into strange

disorders in regard to the succession. The King and the Queen are absolutely for the Imperial court; and, on the other hand, the Council of State runs blindly and head-foremost in favour of the Duke of Anjou, flattering themselves that his Catholic Majesty will embrace this affair. In the meanwhile, everything grows worse and worse; many deliberations and consultations, but no good resolutions. The King keeps his bed since yesterday, but it is hoped his Majesty will soon recover, and appear again in public.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Paris, October 9. 1700.

I am of opinion, that we shall now soon see matters of great consequence transacted all over Europe, because it is expected that in a few days we shall hear that the king of Spain is dead. They have at court received a courier from Madrid, and on the 26th of September the King was so ill, he having continual vomitings and a great looseness, that his physicians believed he could not live a week. Last night late, the Emperor's envoy was with me, who had just received news of the 30th by an express. His letters mention that the King had received the sacrament, the extreme unction, &c., and that he had taken leave of the Queen, &c. So they despaired of his life; but on the day this was written, there were some little hopes of him,

his looseness having abated. He told me he was then going to Fontainebleau. It is certain that the whole council of Spain, and even those that were creatures of the Queen, who is entirely for the House of Austria, are all for the Duke of Anjou. They flatter themselves that the French king will accept this offer. I hope the Emperor, before it is too late, will see it is his interest to sign the treaty.

The Pope died on the 27th of last month.* I think it had been better for our affairs, if the Pope had lived some time longer.

The King has ordered the raising of ten men in a company, and twenty in the regiment of Guards, which, as it is computed, will amount to about twenty-six thousand. The horse is to be also augmented, but it is not said to what number. You see by this, that they are resolved to be in a condition to maintain their pretensions.†

* Innocent XII. He was succeeded by the Cardinal Albano, who took the name of Clement XI.

† "Sur les nouvelles de l'état mourant du roi d'Espagne, dont Blécourt avait grand soin d'informer le Roi, il donna ordre au Marquis d'Harcourt de se tenir prêt pour aller assembler une armée à Bayonne, pour laquelle on fit toutes les dispositions nécessaires, et Harcourt partit le 23 Octobre, avec le projet de prendre les places de cette frontière, comme Fontarabie et les autres, et d'entrer par là en Espagne. Le Guipuscoa était à la France par le traité de partage; ainsi, jusque-là, il n'y avait rien à dire. Comme tout changea subitement de face, je n'ai point su quels étaient les projets après avoir réduit cette petite province." — *Mémoires de Saint-Simon.*

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, October 11. 1700.

M. de Torcy told me that they had an express from Spain with letters of the 26th of last month, and that the King of Spain was so extremely ill, that his physicians thought he could not live eight days; that thereupon they had dispatched a courier to M. de Villars, with orders to acquaint the Emperor with it; and to let him know, that as they had not yet named a successor, so it would be necessary to know his further resolutions, since the case might soon happen, which would oblige them to take such measures as would be proper, in case the Emperor did not think fit to sign the treaty. M. de Torcy made an excuse, that the time did not permit the first concerting with the King, that else it would have been done, though he did not see any difficulty but that his Majesty would approve of it. He desired I would write, which I assured him I would not fail to do, and then I took notice of the augmentation of their forces, which will amount to twenty-six thousand foot. There is to be also one of the horse, but the number is not yet declared. I said that I heard that M. de Nesmond was to remain at Cadiz. He said, as to the first, that as affairs stood, it was convenient; but as for the latter, M. de Nesmond had orders to return to Toulon.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, October 11. 1700.

I am very sorry for the perilous state of the king of Spain's health. But I trust that he will once more escape. Meanwhile, no one can find it singular if France should take her precautions in good time. You may assure the ambassadors of France from me that I shall rigidly observe the treaty, in the expectation that their master shall do the same, and that I shall willingly take measures with them to put it into effect, if a fatal result takes place. I quite approve of the official steps they intend to get taken in Vienna, in which it will be our duty to second them; it will also be of use for Count Goes to despatch at our request a courier to his court. I quite agree to your proposal that, in consequence of Schonenberg's letter, the ambassadors of France should be urged in the name of the States and my own to declare to Spain that they will not accept the monarchy for a French prince. I fear that France will not decide on this course without difficulty. Still it is in conformity to the treaty, and unless it be done we may easily be their dupes.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, October 15. 1700.

I have this moment received your despatches of yesterday. I am quite distressed at the sad

news about the king of Spain: I fear that he has already gone. I find much too great precipitation on the part of France, who wishes to take instant possession of everything, and I hardly think that there will be the means of preventing a war, and that before any decisive despatch has been received from the Emperor; but I expect that our remonstrances will have but little effect with the French government: meanwhile we shall be obliged to do so for our own justification in the future in the event of their demanding from us things which we may not think it right to perform. This sudden demise of the king of Spain is also very ill-timed for the exchange of Naples and Sicily in return for Savoy and Piedmont. Hence I think that you have acted very properly in replying to the ambassador of France that it is impossible in the space of two days to speak distinctly on this subject, considering especially that we are still in ignorance what part the duke of Savoy will take. I do not doubt that de la Tour is charged with some instructions on this matter; but I am greatly astonished that France persists in keeping Final without a shadow of reason, and whilst this claim can never be allowed. I confess nevertheless that I am inclined to the exchange in question, and should like to see how far it would be possible to realise this scheme.

M. SCHONENBERG TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Madrid, October 21. 1700.

It seems that the 8th has been the day we call here critical in sicknesses, because that was properly the time that the King gave probable proofs of mending. In effect, his looseness is so much abated since that time, that his health is grown better daily; so that if no relapse or unforseen accident comes across, the physicians judge unanimously that he is absolutely out of danger. In the meanwhile, his Majesty suffered himself to be persuaded (when he was in the highest of his illness, that is on the 3rd instant) to sign a testamentary disposition in favour of the second son of the Dauphin*; but since he is better, he shows such an indignation against those who, under pretence of conscience, persuaded him to make this step, that he is grown diffident of all his ministers; insomuch that he has even recalled the power given to the Secretary of State for the Universal Dispatches, relating to the most pressing affairs which he had trusted, during the greatest violence of his illness, to three or four Councillors of State, in conjunction with the said Secretary, his Majesty not thinking proper to confide in those who inspired him with a resolution to make a will.

* In the Appendix will be found extracts from the Memoirs of Torcy and St. Simon, containing full particulars of the way in which Charles II. was induced to make his will in favour of the Duke of Anjou.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. BLATHWAYT.

Fontainebleau, October 22. 1700.

We have this day letters from Madrid of the 8th, by the ordinary post. The Spanish ambassador has one of the 9th, and his despatch is signed by the King himself, as several others were that are sent into Italy. I suppose that was done to convince them the more that he was in a way of recovery. That which occasions the greatest discourse is his will, which he signed on the 3rd, by all the letters it is thought in favour of one of the princes of France; and as to the persons concerned, and who were witnesses to it, it is certain they have been ever that way disposed, to prevent their monarchy's being dismembered. Some letters do also say, that since that the Queen has prevailed with him to add a codicil, that some that were named for the regency are changed; at least the Queen seemed after that very easy.

M. SCHONENBERG TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Madrid, October 31, 1700.

The relapse of the Catholic king, which returned on the 25th of this month, being increased the 29th to such a point that his Majesty was near the agony, they gave him the same day the extreme unction; and after that he appointed, by a formal commission under the Privy Seal, the cardinal

Portocarrero governor during his illness, or, in case of death, until the opening of his testament, over all the vassals of the monarchy, as well for the politic as the military affairs, without any exception or reserve. Besides this, his Majesty despatched circular orders for the calling back of all the Lords banished from the court. In the meanwhile, all hopes of recovery seem to be vanished, since a fever, accompanied with an oppression of the lungs, are joined to the King's other distempers. Whilst I am finishing this at four in the afternoon, I hear that the King has a new attack of a violent fever, and under such symptoms that his Majesty will not outlive the night.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, November 2. 1700.

You will have learned doubtless that in spite of a contrary wind I had a very favourable passage. I have only spoken to a few persons here. Up to this moment the most general opinion seems to be that we may look forward to very animated debates in Parliament on the treaty of Partition, and especially on the commerce of the Mediterranean. It is said that in future England will require passports from France to trade in the ports of that sea; hence I must still consider if it would not be for my benefit to accept the offers of Savoy and Piedmont in exchange for Naples and Sicily. Hence you will do well to broach this matter to the ambassador of

France, as well as to de la Tour, if he is not yet departed. If, as I trust, the king of Spain recover, there will be some time to deliberate about it; but if he dies, it will be necessary to use despatch in any resolution we may come to.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, November 3. 1700.

Before I left Fontainebleau I was with M. de Torcy, who, I find, is well satisfied with all the proceedings in Holland. I must own that, during my stay there, the King took all occasions to oblige me. You know already that M. de Callières is gone to the duke of Lorraine. The duke of Savoy has declared that he will not act against the treaty. His ambassador here is now more in hopes than ever that his master will have some advantage in the partition; but I found by M. de Torcy that the French king was satisfied with the division already made, and yet he would consent to any reasonable alteration, if that was to make the king our master easy. This was meant in relation to our trade in the Levant, and I suppose that Count Tallard has already told you as much. He arrived here on Monday late at night, and the next morning I was to wait on him. He expressed a great sense of the King's favours to him, that he was just going to Fontainebleau to give the king his master all the assurances imaginable of the friendship of the King

and of the States-General, which he could do with great truth; in short, he seemed extremely pleased.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, November 5. 1700.

There is as little reliance to be placed in the Imperial ministers as in the French, with regard to the health of the king of Spain—the safest course is a middle one. I gave you in my last letter an idea of the views that prevail here with regard to the treaty of Partition. I now see that, as far as commerce is concerned, more importance is attached here to Sicily than to Naples; hence, it would be a good thing if we could devise an equivalent for Sicily.

THE EARL OF JERSEY TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{October 28.}}{\text{November 8.}}$ 1700.

I am to acquaint your Lordship that there have been two alterations made in favour of the duke of Savoy. The first is, that France should have the duchy of Savoy and the kingdom of Sicily; the duke of Lorraine to have the kingdom of Naples; and the duke of Savoy to have Milan joined to Piedmont. The other alternative is, that France should have Savoy and Piedmont; the duke of Lorraine should have Milan; and the duke

of Savoy, Naples and Sicily. These propositions came first from de la Tour, but it is evident that France had before agreed to them; for Count Tallard, in the last audience he had of the King, did own that the king of France was willing to accept of either of these propositions, though he was not under any engagement with the duke of Savoy. The King told him, that he could not determine anything in this matter until he came to England, which is, you see, very far from the thing's being agreed on, as Tallard was pleased to tell you; and in this language your Lordship may speak to M. de Torcy. I may tell you in confidence, that the King is most inclined to the first proposition, that a means may be found to have Sicily otherwise disposed of than to France, which the King is endeavouring; but of this you are to take no kind of notice.

We have news that the king of Spain is relapsed, but give not much credit to it.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO SECRETARY VERNON.

Paris, November 9. 1700.

We have now the news that the king of Spain died the 1st instant, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon, which the inclosed will inform his Majesty of. The Cardinal Portocarrero was declared, by a commission under the privy seal, chief governor during his illness, and

by the testament which they have since opened, he is continued.* He sent M. de Blécourt a copy. The

* "Charles II. died the 1st of November, in the year 1700. By his will, signed the 2d of the October preceding, he acknowledged the right of his sister, the Infanta Maria Teresa, queen of France, and mother of the Dauphin; as also the right of his aunt, Queen Anne, and, consequently, that of the Dauphin, the only heir according to the laws of the kingdom; but to prevent all Europe from being alarmed at the uniting of such extensive dominions to the crown of France, of which the Dauphin was the only presumptive heir, Charles called the Duke of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son, to the succession, appointing him sole heir to all his kingdoms and lordships, without any exception to partition whatsoever. He ordered all his subjects and vassals to acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign. But till this young prince came to Madrid, and even till he was of age, his majesty ordained a Council of Regency, or *junta*, for the administration of the state, and nominated the members of which it was to be composed, placing the Queen at the head." — *Memoirs of Torcy.*

"Dès que le roi d'Espagne fut expiré, il fut question d'ouvrir son testament. Le conseil d'état s'assembla, et tous les grands d'Espagne qui se trouvèrent à Madrid y entrèrent. La curiosité de la grandeur d'un évènement si rare, et qui intéressait tant de millions d'hommes, attira tout Madrid au palais, en sorte qu'on s'étouffait dans les pièces voisines de celle où les grands et le conseil ouvraient le testament. Tous les ministres étrangers en assiégeaient la porte. C'était à qui saurait le premier le choix du roi qui venait de mourir pour en informer sa cour le premier. Blécourt était là comme les autres, sans savoir rien plus qu'eux; et le comte d'Harrach, ambassadeur de l'Empereur, qui espérait tout, et qui comptait sur le testament en faveur de l'Archiduc, était vis-à-vis la porte et tout prôche avec un air triomphant. Cela dura assez long-temps pour exciter l'impatience. Enfin la porte s'ouvrit et se referma. Le duc d'Abrantès, qui était un homme de beaucoup d'esprit, plaisant, mais à craindre, voulut se donner le plaisir d'annoncer le choix du successeur, sitôt qu'il eût vu tous les grands et le

substance of it is, that whereas the king of Spain was satisfied that the intention and design of the renunciation, which the late queen of France, &c. made, was only in order to prevent the union of the two monarchies in one person: and whereas the Dauphin has several sons, to whom in conscience the succession does belong; he does therefore appoint and declare the duke of Anjou his heir.

conseil y acquiescer et prendre leurs résolutions en conséquence. Il se trouva investi aussitôt qu'il parut. Il jeta les yeux de tous côtés en gardant gravement le silence. Blécourt s'avança; il le regarda bien fixement, puis, tournant la tête, fit semblant de chercher ce qu'il avait presque devant lui. Cette action surprit Blécourt, et fut interprétée mauvaise pour la France; puis, tout à coup, faisant comme s'il n'avait pas aperçu le comte d'Harrach, et qu'il s'offrît premièrement à sa vue, il prit un air de joie, lui sauta au cou, et lui dit en espagnol, fort haut: "Monsieur, c'est avec beaucoup de plaisir"... et faisant une pause pour l'embrasser mieux, ajouta: "Oui, Monsieur, c'est avec une extrême joie que pour toute ma vie"... et redoublant d'embrassades pour s'arrêter encore, puis acheva: "et avec le plus grand contentement que je me sépare de vous et prends congé de la très auguste maison d'Autriche," puis perce la foule, chacun courant après pour savoir qui était le successeur. L'étonnement et l'indignation du comte d'Harrach lui fermèrent entièrement la bouche, mais parurent sur son visage dans toute leur étendue. Il demeura là encore quelques moments; il laissa des gens à lui pour lui venir dire des nouvelles à la sortie du conseil, et s'alla enfermer chez lui dans une confusion d'autant plus grande qu'il avait été la dupe des accolades et de la cruelle tromperie du compliment du duc d'Abrantès. Blécourt, de son côté, n'en demanda pas davantage. Il courut chez lui écrire pour dépêcher son courrier. Comme il était après, Ubilla lui envoya un extrait du testament qu'il tenait tout prêt, et que Blécourt n'eut qu'à mettre dans son paquet."—*Mémoires de Saint-Simon.*

In case he should die without children, or inherit the crown of France, then to the duke of Berry; and if the same should happen to him, then to the Archduke and his heirs: and he limits it at last to the duke of Savoy and his heirs. He does also recommend to the Emperor and the king of France a marriage between the Duke of Anjou and one of the Archduchesses, in order to keep up the same good understanding that is at present.

The Queen, finding that she had no part in the government, is fallen very ill. I waited on M. de Torcy, who gave me an account of these matters, and I did endeavour to learn what measures they intended to take.

The King ordered a council immediately, and I believe you will soon see Count Tallard. I can see they are very well pleased here with all these circumstances; and what effect they will have, time must show; though I am of opinion that they will keep firm to the treaty, as that is most for their advantage.

The letters from England of Thursday are not yet come. M. de Torcy was in hopes I might have received some orders in relation to the duke of Savoy. The King did not declare his resolutions upon that subject before he left Holland, but said that he would send me orders from England. This is what M. de Tallard says. M. de la Tour is come to Fontainebleau, I have not yet seen him.

M. de Zinzendorf assures me that he has no private directions concerning the Emperor's accepting the treaty, in case of news of the death of the king

of Spain, as it was thought. I have had some discourse with him, and he is satisfied now that there is no other party for the Emperor to take, and he intends to write as much. He is very apprehensive lest France should now press the naming of another, as by the treaty they may, the time being elapsed.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, November 12. 1700.

I have received this evening the terrible news of the decease of the king of Spain on the 1st instant, by a letter *per* express from Lord Manchester of the 9th, from Fontainebleau, together with a letter from Schonenberg of the 1st instant, within a few hours after the death of the king of Spain, whose will is said to be in favour of one of the Dauphin's sons; and that Cardinal Portocarrero is appointed Regent of the whole monarchy till the will is opened. By my account you must have received the same sorrowful tidings about the same time. I can now hardly have any further doubt that the Emperor will accede to the Partition-treaty. The two months stipulated for declaring himself is a short term; there should therefore be no time lost in pressing the Imperial court to accede. I believe Tallard will now be here again soon, and press me to declare myself about the exchange of Savoy and Piedmont against Naples and Sicily. According to my ambassador's letters from France, Torcy has

spoken to him upon that business, and showed great eagerness to enter into it; so that we risk nothing in not declaring ourselves so speedily; and I do not know whether we can now do it without a previous communication to the Imperial court. I shall earnestly wait to have your sentiments at large on this important matter.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

Paris, November 12. 1700.

I must now acquaint you that there is an end of our treaty. This morning I was with M. de Torcy, who began with saying that he did not doubt but I was sensible, that since they had an account of the king of Spain's death, and the disposition he had made by his will, great difficulties must have arisen*; that the King had well consi-

* "Immediately upon the king of Spain's decease, the *junta* wrote to the King, giving him notice of this event; and the Spanish ambassador had orders to deliver the will to his Majesty, together with the letter signed by the Queen and the members of the *junta*. As they were in doubt at Madrid whether the King would accept of the last proposals of his Catholic Majesty; in case of such a refusal, the *junta* ordered Castel-dos-Rios to make the same courier who had been sent from Madrid, to proceed forthwith to Vienna; the intention of the late king having been to bequeath the entire succession to the Archduke, in case the first settlement should be not accepted in France.

"The King was then at Fontainebleau. Upon the arrival of the courier, the Spanish ambassador communicated the orders he had just received to the Secretary of State for foreign affairs,

dered the occasion, and the intent of the late treaty with England, &c., which was to prevent a war in

and demanded a private audience of his Majesty. The King, before he would fix the hour, was desirous of having the opinion of his council upon an event so unexpected, and yet so important to the royal family, to the welfare of the kingdom, and to the general tranquillity of Europe. The council consisted of the Dauphin, who was principally interested in the settlement made by the king of Spain; of Count Ponchartrain, Chancellor of France; of the Duke de Beauvilliers, president of the Council of Finances, and governor of the young princes; and of the Marquis de Torcy, Secretary of State for the foreign department.

"It was easier to foresee than to prevent the consequences of the decision in question. The King had engaged himself to reject every disposition whatsoever made by the king of Spain in favour of a French prince; an engagement that excluded either a will, a donation, or any other form of deed or settlement. By breaking his engagements, he would incur the censure of violating the sacred word of a king; and, moreover, the consequence of such a violation was inevitable war. His chief view in hastening the conclusion of the peace signed at Ryswick, was to let his people have time to breathe after a long series of wars; and now, when they had scarce begun to enjoy a little repose, they must be obliged to support a new war, which would soon become general; for there was not the least room to expect that the neighbouring princes, who were so greatly alarmed at the power of France, would tamely suffer the King to extend his authority, so as to have the supreme direction, in the name of his grandson, of the dominions subject to the crown of Spain in the Old and New World. On the other hand, it was to be considered, that if the King refused to accept of the will, this same deed transferred the entire succession to the Archduke. The same courier that had been despatched into France would proceed to Vienna; and the Spanish nation, without any hesitation, would acknowledge the Emperor's second son for their king. The House of Austria of course would reunite, betwixt the father and son, the power of

Europe; that the Emperor not having signed, and the duke of Savoy actually refusing to accept

Charles V., a power heretofore so fatal to France. And besides, all security for preserving the peace of Ryswick would cease, the treaty of Partition being no longer sufficient to maintain it. The Emperor had obstinately refused to sign this treaty at a time when he had reason to apprehend the effect of the connexions of France with England and Holland. His alarms were dissipated by the secret advices which the ministers of these two powers had communicated to those of the court of Vienna. As no preparations were making on their side, this prince had not the least room to suspect that King William and the republic of Holland entertained any design of supporting the disposition of the Spanish succession by force of arms. It was therefore to be presumed, that now, when the Emperor was perfectly easy, he would never accept of what he had refused when he had all the reason in the world to be alarmed. The King, by rejecting the will, had no other course left than either entirely to resign the Spanish succession, or to wage war, in order to conquer that part which the treaty of Partition had assigned to France. A general renunciation would deprive the princes, his children, of their lawful rights, acknowledged by King Charles and by the Spanish nation; and would, at their expense, aggrandise the House of Austria, whose hatred to France was so violent that the Emperor chose rather to run the risk of losing all than consent to share the immense succession with this crown. If the King determined upon going to war, in order to support the engagements he had contracted with England and Holland, there was no doubt but he would be obliged to bear the whole burden of it by himself; but more than this, there was room to expect that soon after the war was commenced, these faithless allies would join with his Majesty's enemies to oppose the execution of that very treaty which he had been so greatly afraid of infringing. To maintain that treaty, he must go to war; but this war would be onerous to France, and, moreover, unjust. What reason could the King have for declaring it against Spain? By what title could he seize on part of her dominions? What injury had

of Naples and Sicily; that there having appeared discontentments both in England and Holland

Charles II. done to France, in acknowledging one of her princes for his universal heir? And where was the wrong done to the French nation, if the Spaniards submitted and conformed to the just will of their sovereign? The whole kingdom made a voluntary and unlimited offer of itself, and France, by rejecting that offer, would consider the Spaniards as enemies, without any other reason than believing that it was more agreeable to her interests to seize upon part of the Spanish dominions; and without any other right than that of a treaty, the essential conditions of which had been already violated by her allies. War being inevitable, it was much better it should be for supporting the cause that had most justice on its side; and this was surely that of the will, since the king of Spain called his natural heirs to the succession, from which they had been unjustly excluded by his predecessors. There was reason to believe that, notwithstanding the bad state of her finances, Spain would yet be able to assist the King in opposing the partition of his territories. To enable him to defend them, she was ready to put him in possession of strong towns, and of harbours, whose situation would facilitate the commerce of France, and might ruin that of her enemies. Besides, there might be some hope that the Indies would be of no small assistance.

"With these arguments did the Secretary of State enforce the opinion which he opened in council, of accepting the will. The Duke de Beauvilliers, who spoke next, concluded with abiding by the treaty of Partition, from a persuasion that France must be ruined by another war, which would be the certain consequence of accepting the will. The Chancellor enlarged upon the different advantages on each side of the question, setting each of them alternately in the clearest light; he then summed up the inconveniences attending them; but not presuming to determine upon a question of such importance, where the decision would be generally praised or censured according to the event, he concluded that his Majesty alone, whose experience surpassed that of his ministers, was capable of deciding, from the lights he had received, what he judged

against the French being masters of those two kingdoms in relation to the trade of the Levant; besides that none of the princes, that the treaty has been communicated to, have promised more than a bare neutrality; the King could not but think there was a necessity of accepting of what the will of the king of Spain declared in favour of the Duke of Anjou. Then he read to me the motives which he had drawn up, that I might the better inform his Majesty. I desired he would let

most agreeable to his glory, to the interests of his family, and to the general good of his subjects. The Dauphin delivered himself in few words, and without any sort of hesitation concluded on accepting the will; more pleased to see his second son reign over the whole monarchy of Spain, than with being sovereign himself of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. The King determined to accept the will, but desired that this resolution should be kept secret for some days. The writers of these latter times have falsely asserted that Madame de Maintenon assisted at this council, and gave her opinion.

"The Spanish ambassador was afterwards admitted to a private audience in the King's own closet, where he had the honour to present to his Majesty the will of the late king of Spain, with a letter from the *junta*, signed by the Queen Dowager, and by the ministers of which this council was composed. The King in confidence apprised him of the resolution he had taken; but as it was not to be declared till his Majesty's return to Versailles, he charged him to keep it secret a few days longer; but that he might not retard the Spanish courier, he took care the next day to let the ambassador have his letter in answer to the *Junta*." — *Memoirs of Torcy.*

See in the Appendix the way in which Saint-Simon gives the acceptance of the will. His version differs somewhat from that of Torcy; but it is not on that account to be disregarded: on the contrary, if we think of the confidential terms on which he lived with the Chancellor and the Duke de Beauvilliers.

me take the copy, which I send your Lordship, and most that passed is contained in it. You may easily imagine I had little to say when he told me of the resolution the King had taken. It is certain that the proceedings of the Emperor have put them in some measure on this necessity; for M. de Torcy observed to me, that if the King had refused, the Archduke had then a double title, viz. that of Philip IV. and that of the late king's will; and he could not tell but the Spanish ambassador had orders to send word to Vienna, that the moment the Emperor consented to the treaty, the duke of Savoy had a good title, and his humour is so well known, that we are sure he would not slip such an opportunity, and then there must have been a war, not likely to be soon ended, whatever the success would be; that whole kingdoms must be conquered, the Spaniards being entirely against dividing their monarchy; that the ships we and Holland were to furnish would not be sufficient for such a war; that it was very doubtful whether England and Holland would engage themselves in a greater expense, which must necessarily be the consequence; that it was certain that the treaty was more advantageous to France, and was what the King could have wished. He then ended, saying, that the King hoped that the strength of these reasons would so far prevail with the king our master, that there might still be the same good understanding as ever, which was so necessary for the good and quiet of Europe. I made no other answer than that I would faithfully acquaint the

King with what he had said to me, by order, on this subject. I only asked him if I might not have a copy of the will. He said he would first ask the King, and then send it me. It will now be soon public. I have already acquainted Mr. Vernon with the substance of it: but for fear my servant, whom I despatched on the 9th, should not be arrived, I now repeat, that the disposition of the will is in favour of the Duke of Anjou and his heirs. In case he dies without children, or should inherit the crown of France, then the whole Spanish monarchy is to go to the Duke of Berry; and if the same should happen to him, then the Archduke and his heirs are to inherit; and he limits it at last to the duke of Savoy and his heirs. He desires and recommends it in his will, that the Duke of Anjou should marry one of the Archduchesses.

The account of the king of Spain's death came on Tuesday the 9th, about one o'clock in the afternoon, and at three there was a council in Madame de Maintenon's lodgings, at which she was present, with the Chancellor, the Duke de Beauvilliers, and M. de Torcy. The Dauphin was out a-hunting. The next morning there was another council in the same manner, when the Dauphin was present. M. Blécourt had sent a copy of the will, which the Regents had given him. On the 10th, the Spanish ambassador received a courier, with orders to notify the King's death. He had a letter also for this king signed by the Regents, and the Queen's name was the first. He went straight to M. de Torcy, and that night there was another council, where the

matter was determined, as I suppose. On the 11th, the Spanish ambassador had a private audience, when the will was read all over to the King, who declared he accepted it. Soon after this, the Spanish ambassador sent a courier for Spain, and there is no doubt but, as soon as he arrives, the Duke of Anjou will be proclaimed. I did perceive that this would be their resolution; but M. de Torcy did not explain himself to me till this morning. The King will not declare it till on Monday next, when he will be at Versailles, and I believe the Duke of Anjou will soon after that go for Spain.

Count Tallard desired me to let you know that he should have sent the account of the king of Spain's death, as he promised, but that I did. He tells me he has orders to be ready, and says he shall soon be in England. I think he ought to go.* As

* Count Tallard had arrived in France from Holland a few days before, when the news of the king of Spain's death came. What he felt in seeing the overthrow of his diplomatic work, and the despair into which he fell, is wonderfully depicted by Saint-Simon, in his Memoirs:—

"Le mercredi, 17 novembre, Harcourt fut déclaré duc héréditaire et ambassadeur en Espagne. Tallard était encore à Versailles sur son départ pour retourner à Londres. C'était l'homme du monde le plus rongé d'ambition et de politique. Il fut si outré de voir son traité de partage renversé, et Harcourt duc héréditaire, qu'il en pensa perdre l'esprit. On le voyait des fenêtres du château se promener tout seul dans les jardins, sur les parterres, les bras en croix sur sa poitrine, son chapeau sur les yeux, parlant tout seul et gesticulant parfois comme un possédé. Dans cet état de rage, arrivant pour diner chez Torcy, il trouva qu'on était à table, et perçant dans une autre pièce

to what is to be judged at this court by their looks, I did perceive that the moment this resolution was taken the King was very civil, but looked always much concerned whenever I came near him.

It is without dispute, by the Queen's signing, that she has been all along in the French interest, whatever she seemed to the Emperor's minister; and if the present posture of affairs is considered, as she was hated by all, this was the only way to save herself; and it was so managed, that in June last the king of Spain signed a will in favour of the Archduke, which was sent to Vienna. That made the Emperor proceed as he did. Besides, they have never obliged her in anything she desired. The king of Spain cancelled that, and made this on the 2d of October. M. Zinzendorf told me this in discourse, and he would not believe what he sees now to be possible, though he does

sans dire mot, y jeta son chapeau et sa perruque sur des sièges, et se mit à déclamer tout haut et tout seul sur l'utilité du traité de partage, les dangers de l'acceptation du testament, le bonheur d'Harcourt, qui, sans y avoir rien fait, lui enlevait sa récompense. Tout cela fut accompagné de tant de dépit, de jalousie, mais surtout de grimaces et de postures si étranges, qu'à la fin il fut ramené à lui-même par un éclat de rire dont le grand bruit le fit soudainement retourner en tressaillant, et il vit alors sept ou huit personnes à table, environnés de valets, qui mangeaient dans la même pièce, et qui s'étant prolongé le plus qu'ils avaient pu le plaisir de l'entendre, et celui de le voir par la glace vers laquelle il était tourné debout à la cheminée, n'avaient pu y tenir plus long-temps, et avaient tous à la fois laissé échapper ce grand éclat de rire. On peut juger de ce que devint Tallard à ce réveil, et tous les contes qui en coururent dans Versailles."

not yet know that the French king has accepted of the will.

A MEMORIAL GIVEN TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Paris, November 12. 1700.

The feeble health of the king of Spain, the frequent and dangerous disorders with which he had been attacked, at the time that peace was concluded at Ryswick, caused it to be judged that the speedy death of that prince would soon interrupt the tranquillity which that peace restored to Europe. The Emperor had signified on all occasions, that he laid claim to the whole of the succession, if not for himself, at least for the princes his sons. He had made treaties both in and out of the Empire to secure it; his ambassadors openly laboured in Spain to attain this object; lastly, in the very places where negotiators were assembled, to discuss proposals for peace, those whom he had sent declared his pretensions; and, as the first condition of the treaty, they demanded that the King should consent to renounce the legitimate right of the Dauphin.

The king of England and the States-General, being informed of the views of the Emperor, judged at the same time that the forces of the King, being sufficient to maintain the legitimate right of the Dauphin, the war would be renewed more fiercely than ever, immediately after the death of the king

of Spain. They desired to prevent it; his Majesty gave them the means. In the same view of preserving the public tranquillity he agreed with those two powers to avoid a new war, by an accommodation of the disputes and differences which might result on the subject of the Spanish succession; and from the umbrage of too many states united under the same prince. The treaty was signed on the 2nd of March last. The king of England knows the care and the attention which the King has given, since its conclusion, to conduct it to the happy end which his Majesty and the allies had proposed. He has neglected nothing to induce the Emperor to subscribe to it. He has made the most urgent representation to the princes of Europe to lead them to the same engagements. He has asked them, in the first place, for the guarantee of the treaty, as was agreed with the king of England and the States-General. The difficulties which he met with, in obtaining it from these princes, induced him to be content with the promise of a simple neutrality. His Majesty has punctually informed his allies of all the steps which he has taken to ensure the execution of the treaty. He has never listened to proposals on the part of the Spaniards; and, though the whole nation was disposed to ask for a king one of the princes his grandsons, this general inclination of the people, which their true interest inspired, has never been promoted by his Majesty's ministers.

But, while he was in vain urging the powers of Europe to enter into a treaty, made with the

sole view of preserving the general tranquillity, —while he asked them, with so little success, to promise at least to preserve a strict neutrality, if the divisions which were foreseen at the death of the king of Spain should excite a new war, — while his Majesty maintained strict silence, with respect to his Catholic Majesty, the death of that prince has taken place. His will being opened has shown that, in the last moments of his life, after having consulted his ministers and the most experienced men in his kingdoms, he had considered the tranquillity of Europe, the welfare of his states, the rights of the legitimate heirs; — that recognising the rights of the late Queen, those of the Queen, the King's mother, foreseeing at the same time the umbrage that all Europe would take at seeing the crown of France and that of Spain possessed by the same prince, he had called to the entire succession the Duke of Anjou, and, in default of him, the Duke of Berry.

It is thus that the late king of Spain desired, above all things, to remove the jealousy which the union of the two monarchies might excite, by appointing for his successor a prince distant from the crown of France, even disposing of the crown of Spain in favour of the second, if the Duke of Anjou should ever succeed to the first.

At the same time he thought of the weal of his dominions. The measures taken to maintain the public tranquillity divided the Spanish monarchy. His Catholic Majesty seems to have been persuaded that, the more faithful his subjects had been

to him, the more disposed they would be to recognize the rights of the Dauphin, such as he had reserved them. His Catholic Majesty, in the last moments of his life, had done injustice to the true heir. He therefore recognized him by appointing the princes of France; but, at the same time, his tenderness for his people, inviolably attached to their kings, showed him that it was necessary to point out to them those sovereigns whom they might recognize,—those who ought to defend them, if, on the true heirs renouncing the rights of their birth and those given by the will, war should be renewed, and if, unhappily for Spain, the neighbouring powers should invade the principal states subject to his crown.

In this view the king of Spain named the Archduke, failing the princes of France; then the duke of Savoy; and this arrangement must change all the measures taken by the treaty, signed in the month of March, at London and the Hague.

The object of the treaty was to preserve the peace. To succeed in this, it was wisely foreseen that it was necessary to obtain the consent of the Emperor, that he must give sufficient renunciations of all his claims and those of the princes his children; it seemed probable that he would consent; that if he persisted in his refusal, the forces of the King, and those of his allies, aided by the consent of the people, comprehended in the portion of the Dauphin, would suffice for the execution of the treaty; for it is certain, that these same people could not oppose, without rebellion, the justice of

the rights of the Dauphin. By birth, he became their sovereign immediately after the death of his Catholic Majesty, and thus the arrangements which the king of Spain might have made, without having regarded his rights, being unjust, must oblige them to declare in favour of the legitimate heir.

The Emperor has constantly refused to subscribe to the partition. The king of England and the States-General know how fruitless all their endeavours, added to those of his Majesty, have been. They are witnesses of the delays of the Court of Vienna, in answer to the proposals which his Majesty had made to it, even after the expiration of the term of three months fixed by the treaty. For, in short, though well informed of the disposition of the people of Spain, his Majesty has never ceased to offer to the Emperor a partition, which he believed to be calculated to preserve the peace. He was not ignorant that the most enlightened subjects of his Catholic Majesty, the most zealous for the good of their country, and who filled the highest posts, did not fail to represent to the king their master, that justice, his love for his subjects, and his conscience, equally bound him to name for his successor those whom birth called to fill his throne after him. Yet he neglected such favourable dispositions, his sole view being to preserve peace by the execution of the treaty.*

* "The Memoirs of Count Harrach, and La Torre, give a good deal of light into the transactions of the Court of Spain, previous to the death of Charles II.; and the letters of the Marquis d' Harcourt, then the French ambassador in Spain, of

The state of things is entirely changed by the will of the king of Spain. If the princes of France refuse the crown, after that the Catholic king has done justice to the rights of the Dauphin by calling the princes his sons to the throne, the subjects of the monarchy will feel it their duty to obey the Archduke, and to recognize, in his person, the arrangement of the king their master. They will all be as faithful to him as they were, for so many years, to the preceding kings of Spain. It will be necessary to conquer not only fortresses but states and entire kingdoms to execute the treaty, to undertake a long and difficult war against the Spanish monarchy, united in all its parts, supported by allies, interested in maintaining the will, subject to a king whom it will look upon as legitimate, the first heirs having renounced their rights.

Nothing is more opposed to the spirit of the Partition treaty, nothing more contrary to that happy tranquillity which the King proposes to maintain, conjointly with his allies. It is insured, if his

which I have authentic copies in manuscript, from the year 1698 to 1702, have cleared up that whole affair to me. It appears by those letters, that the imprudent conduct of the House of Austria, with regard to the King and Queen of Spain, and Madame Berlips, her favourite, together with the knowledge of the Partition treaty, which incensed all Spain, were the true and only reasons of the Will in favour of the Duke of Anjou. Neither Cardinal Portocarrero, nor any of the grandees, were bribed by France, as was generally reported and believed at that time; which confirms Voltaire's anecdote upon that subject." * *Lord Chesterfield.*

* Siècle de Louis XIV. ch. xvi.

Majesty accepts the will. The two monarchies of France and Spain remain separated, as they have been for so many years. This equal balance, desired by all Europe, subsists much better than if France were to be aggrandized by the acquisition of the frontiers of Spain, or of Lorraine, or even of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

His Majesty has really reason to believe that his allies would assist him, with all their forces, to make these conquests. The number of ships required of the two nations would not suffice to attack a vast kingdom, all the states of which recognize the same king. That before the united forces could act, it would be easy to prepare for resistance; the war would be long, even though it should be general. It has always been desired to avoid it; and with what right, in short, could his Majesty attack states which submit to, which acknowledge, the grandson of his Majesty as their lawful master? The question no longer is to take wise precautions, in order to avoid, by a just partition, the war which the vacancy of the succession of a dying prince gives reason to apprehend after his death. This partition was not to be put in force till after his demise. The question now would be, to deprive a living prince, the grandson of the King, of the principal states, and even of the whole monarchy, which the rights of his birth and the intentions of the last possessor entitle him to, and which the voice of the whole nation unanimously assigns to him.

His Majesty cannot believe that such is the

intention of the king of England and the States-General, both which are equally inclined to preserve peace. They have too plainly indicated by the treaty their desire to maintain it. He therefore believes that he promotes the same object of the treaty to preserve, for a long time, the public tranquillity and remove the umbrage of too many states, united under one prince, by accepting, as he does, for the Duke of Anjou, the appointment made in his favour by the will of the late king of Spain; and, as his Majesty and the Dauphin had shown their moderation by consenting to the share stipulated for the Dauphin by the last treaty, he is persuaded that he gives a no less striking proof of it, by renouncing the great advantages which his crown receives from such a treaty, and that the resolution which he takes to preserve the Spanish monarchy in its ancient lustre, is still more conformable with the general interests of all Europe. It may be added, that the uneasiness which the English and the Dutch have expressed for their commerce in the Mediterranean will cease when they learn that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily do not change masters, and that they will find, in their ports, the same advantages which they feared to lose, by the union of those kingdoms with the crown of France.

His Majesty does not doubt that the ambassador of England, perfectly comprehending the powerful reasons which he has for accepting the will made by the king of Spain, in favour of the Duke of Anjou, will represent them with the same

force to the king of Great Britain. He likewise desires him to assure the king his master, that he has still the same intentions of preserving with that prince the good understanding and union so necessary to preserve the repose of Europe, persuaded besides, that the resolution which he takes will consolidate more than ever the general tranquillity.

MR. SECRETARY VERNON TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Whitehall, November 2—13. 1700.

Your express arrived here yesterday with your Excellency's letter of the 9th instant. I sent it immediately to Hampton Court, and went thither myself this morning to the King's levee. His Majesty commanded me to acquaint you, that he is very well satisfied with your care, in giving him the earliest notice of matters of such importance. His Majesty would be informed, matters standing thus, what the French court intends to do as to mourning, whether they will expect any other notification of the king of Spain's death; and if so, from whom, before they go into mourning.

As to what M. de Torcy has said to you in relation to the duke of Savoy, his Majesty told M. de Tallard that he could not come to any resolution in that point until he was in England, where he now expects M. de Tallard will arrive very soon. In the mean time, his Majesty thinks it deserves

consideration, whether any variation should be made in the treaty from what was proposed to the Emperor, since in the case now existing, the Emperor is allowed two months from the time of the notification of the king of Spain's death, to determine and declare whether he will come into the treaty or not, as you will see by the secret article, a copy whereof I am commanded to send you, that you may observe to the ministers there, how improper it would be to alter the terms to which the Emperor's assent is expected, without giving him a previous notice of it.

His Majesty was glad to find by your letter that it is Count Zinzendorf's opinion that the Emperor's accepting the treaty, is the best party he can now take; and his Majesty hopes that he has written accordingly to Vienna, so that the last period of time, still reserved, may not be lost.

LOUIS XIV. TO THE COUNT DE BRIORD.

Fontainebleau, November 14. 1700.

After my letter of the 10th instant, the ambassador of Spain requested an audience of me, which I granted at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. He delivered to me a letter with the signature of the queen of Spain, and those of the council appointed by the late king his master, bearing the nomination of my grandchildren, and, failing them, that of the Archduke, and after him that of the Duke of

Savoy. It would be of no use to apprise you in detail of the urgent arguments he employed to persuade me to accept the will, and for the general well-being of all Europe, and that of the Spanish kingdom in particular. Suffice it to say, that, for two days that I was cognisant of it, I examined with the utmost attention all the advantages and disadvantages, whether to hold by the treaty or to accept the will. In the former case I perceived the utility of uniting several states to my crown, and of weakening a power at all times jealous of mine.* I considered the intimate relations formed with the king of England and the States-General, and the thoughts of maintaining the general tranquillity, by executing punctually the treaty of partition. On the other hand, I had reason to think that the more my power increased by that re-union of the states which my son had reserved to himself, the greater obstacles I should find to the execution of the treaty. The past negotiations and the present uncertain state of affairs have made this but too clear. The will of the king of Spain gave rise to

* "L'état des deux couronnes de France et d'Espagne est tel aujourdhui, et depuis long-temps dans le monde, qu'on ne peut élever l'une sans abaisser l'autre, qui n'a presque jamais rien à craindre que par là. Cela fait entre elles une jalousie qui, si je l'osais dire, est essentielle, et une espèce d'inimitié permanente que les traités peuvent courrir, mais qu'ils ne sauraient jamais éteindre, parce que le fondement en dure toujours, et que l'une d'elles travaillant contre l'autre, ne croît pas tant pour nuire à autrui que se maintenir et se conserver soi-même, qui est un devoir si naturel qu'il emporte facilement tous les autres." *Mémoires de Louis XIV.*

new difficulties; for the Archduke being nominated in default of my grandchildren, the Emperor would at last have manifested still greater disinclination to subscribe; and even if he should have done so, the refusal of the Archduke transferring the right to the duke of Savoy, the latter would have been acknowledged by the whole Spanish nation as the legitimate successor of this kingdom. Hence, in order to execute this treaty, all the states dependent on the Spanish crown must be conquered, in order to be divided forthwith according to the partition. This resolution would necessarily give rise to a war, of which it would be impossible ever to foresee the end; nothing could be more opposed to the spirit of the treaty. I see, on the other hand, that by accepting the will, nobody has a right to complain, if my son is willing to cede his rights as he does to the Duke of Anjou; that all pretext for war is at an end; that Europe has not to fear the reunion of so many states under one and the same power; that mine is not increased; that matters remain as they have been for such a considerable number of years; that it is consequently more advantageous to all Europe, and even more in conformity with the object of the treaty, to adhere to the arrangement made by the late king of Spain.

These considerations had determined me; and I had adopted the resolution to accept this will, when I gave audience to the ambassador of Spain, and assured him that I should cause the Duke of Anjou to proceed immediately to Spain. I delivered to him next day the letter I had written to the

Regency, and only hinted to him that it was necessary to keep the secret for a few days, in order to give me time to notify it to the king of England and the Pensionary of Holland. The ambassador of England has been informed of the same matters from me in nearly the same terms as I write to you. You will find them still more detailed in a memorial which has been written to him, and of which he has taken a copy. In fine, he has been told that it might have been dangerous to deliberate long on the answer to be given to the ambassador of Spain, and that it might easily happen that this ambassador might have had instructions to forward an express to Vienna immediately after I should have refused the will, and to offer the entire succession to the Archduke.

You will speak in the same terms to the Pensionary. You will thus make him perceive that the Emperor not being engaged, he can never have security for the execution of the treaty; and in truth there would have been no such embarrassment, if the king of England and the States-General had strongly urged the Emperor to subscribe; instead of giving him secret hopes that he would not be forced to it; if they had taken more decided steps with the duke of Savoy; if they acted with better faith in inducing the kings of the North and the princes of the Empire to enter into the guarantee; in short, if they had resolved in time on the assistance necessary for the execution of the treaty. But still we must not reproach them; it is sufficient to speak to the Pensionary as I point out to you in this letter,

and to adhere to the tone of the memorial which I send you. You may even let him see this memorial, but without giving him a copy of it. Meanwhile you should at this juncture redouble your attention, that you may be accurately informed of the resolutions which the States-General will adopt, and of the orders they will give for levying troops, and for the armament of their ships. You will endeavour to discover, if they make any proposal to the elector of Bavaria, and the use they intend to make of the troops they have in the Spanish Netherlands; if they are forming any design on the Indies, or on Cadiz; or, in short, on any place or any port whatever of the Spanish monarchy, whether in the Atlantic or in the Mediterranean.

You will tell the ambassador of Spain at the Hague that I wrote to you to inform him of the instructions I give you; that the zeal he has always manifested in the service of his master gives me no reason to doubt that he will unite with you, and that he will give you all the necessary advice for the welfare of the Spanish monarchy. You will assure him that I have no other object in view at present but to maintain it perfectly united in all its parts.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Hampton Court, November 16. 1700.

Yesterday I received your letters of the 9th and 12th instant, and nearly about the same time

an express from my ambassador in France, with the enclosed memorial. Though I doubt not but you will have received the same information before this reaches you, yet I cannot think it unnecessary to send it to you, on account of the importance of the matter. I doubt not but this unheard-of proceeding of France will surprise you as much as it did me. I never relied much on engagements with France; but must confess, I did not think they would, on this occasion, have broken, in the face of the whole world, a solemn treaty, before it was well accomplished. The motives alleged in the annexed memorial are so shameful, that I cannot conceive how they can have the effrontery to produce such a paper. We must confess we are dupes; but if one's word and faith are not to be kept, it is easy to cheat any man. The worst is, it brings us into the greatest embarrassment, particularly when I consider the state of affairs here; for the blindness of the people here is incredible. For though this affair is not public, yet it was no sooner said that the king of Spain's will was in favour of the Duke of Anjou, than it was the general opinion, that it was better for England that France should accept the will than fulfil the treaty of Partition. I think I ought not to conceal this from you, in order that you may be informed of the sentiments here, which are contrary to mine. For I am perfectly persuaded, that if this will be executed, England and the Republic are in the utmost danger of being totally lost or ruined. I will hope that the Republic understands it thus, and will exert her whole force

to oppose so great an evil. It is the utmost mortification to me in this important affair, that I cannot act with the vigour which is requisite, and set a good example; but the Republic must do it, and I will engage people here, by a prudent conduct, by degrees, and without perceiving it. I have provisionally sent orders to my ambassador, to declare, that I hold to the treaty, and that the two months the Emperor had to declare himself are expired. Before I could take any further determination, this occurred to me first, in order to gain time, which we have so much need of. I am not determined, whether it would be best that the Emperor should accede to the treaty, or declare his right to the whole succession. Probably acceding to the treaty would be best for Holland; but as that is not approved here, the other may perhaps be best. You can judge better of it than I can. In case the Emperor will take up the matter with vigour, he can, in my opinion, do nothing else than make himself master of the duchy of Milan immediately, and endeavour to get Naples and Sicily to declare for him, and thus try to make himself master of Italy; in which the Italian princes may perhaps concur. What embarrasses me most, is the Spanish Netherlands; for it will be very difficult for the elector of Bavaria to prevent their declaring in favour of and acknowledging the Duke of Anjou, in case he receive orders from Spain for that purpose, or is pressed by the French. The troops of the Republic in garrison there ought to be well upon their guard, and the Elector can dispose of them and his own

troops, so that he will have the superiority. The only thing I can think of which the Elector can make use of for a pretext not to declare himself yet, or obey, is, the term of two months which the Emperor has to choose in; or, that he cannot quit the government till his debt is paid. I am resolved to send some one from thence to Brussels to speak with the Elector, and to keep a watchful eye.

These are my first and general ideas, which I have thought proper to communicate to you in this weighty and difficult conjuncture, and shall eagerly expect your better sentiments upon the whole of this business, which I pray God to direct for our good, and to rid us from these great difficulties. I confess I think vigour is necessary on this occasion, and hope it is to be found in the Republic, in case the Emperor shall maintain his right. If I followed my own inclination and opinion, I should have sent to all courts, to incite them to vigour; but it is not becoming, as I cannot set a good example, and I fear doing more harm than good, not being able to play any other game with these people than engaging them imperceptibly.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

Paris, November 17. 1700.

Yesterday, the Duke of Anjou was declared king. This ceremony past at Versailles in the King's closet, all persons being let in. The Spanish

ambassador did homage to him as king of Spain. He has now the right hand of this king, and is treated in the same manner in everything. He is to set out for Spain on the 1st of next month, and the Dukes of Bourgogne and Berry accompany him to the frontiers.

I did not go yesterday to Versailles, M. de Torcy having given me notice that he could see none of the foreign ministers, because there was to be a council. Besides, I thought it not very proper to be there when this ceremony was to be, though some others were, and amongst them Count Zinzendorf, who, as you may easily imagine, was not a little surprised when he saw the Spanish ambassador.* The good understanding that was between them will now be no longer. The Count had an audience of the King soon after this ceremony. That was appointed before he knew of this. It was to acquaint the King, that the Queen of the Romans was brought to bed of a prince. He made all the

* "Zinzendorf, envoyé de l'empereur, avait demandé audience dans l'ignorance de ce qui devait se passer, et, dans la même ignorance, attendait en bas, dans la salle des ambassadeurs, que l'introducteur le vint chercher pour donner part de la naissance de l'Archiduc, petit-fils de l'Empereur, qui mourut bientôt après. Il monta donc sans rien savoir de ce qui venait de se passer. Le roi fit passer le nouveau monarque et l'ambassadeur d'Espagne dans ses arrière-cabinets, puis fit entrer Zinzendorf, qui n'apprit qu'en passant le fâcheux contre-temps dans lequel il était tombé. L'état de Zinzendorf, qui demeura quelque temps dans le salon au sortir de son audience, fut une chose tout-à-fait singulière et curieuse. Je pense qu'il eut acheté cher un mot d'avis à temps d'être demeuré à Paris."—*Mémoires de Saint-Simon.*

haste he could to Paris, to let me know that the Duke of Anjou was declared.

I do assure you there is great joy at St. Germains. The late king goes this day to wait on the Duke of Anjou. I was last night at MONSIEUR'S, who is at Paris, where I found Lord Melfort, who gave himself other airs than he used to do. I do not find M. de Tallard is gone as yet; and I am of opinion it will be deferred as long as it is possible. Whenever he does go, he must put on a good assurance, as matters stand.

APPENDIX.

I.—THE FIRST TREATY OF PARTITION.

BE it known unto all who shall see these presents, that the most serene and most mighty Prince Louis XIV., by the grace of God, most Christian King of France and Navarre; and the most serene and most mighty Prince William III., likewise by the grace of God, King of Britain; and the States-general of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, desiring nothing more heartily than to strengthen by new engagements the good intelligence re-established between his most Christian Majesty, his Majesty of Great Britain, and the said States-general, by the last treaty concluded at Ryswick; and to prevent, by measures taken in time, the events that might raise new wars in Europe, have to that end given their full powers for agreeing upon a new treaty; to wit, his said most Christian Majesty to Count Tallard, Lieutenant-general of his armies, and of his province of Dauphiny, and his Ambassador Extraordinary in England; his said Britannic Majesty to William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, Knight of the order of the Garter, Privy Councillor to the King of Great Britain, his first gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and general of his horse; and to Sir Joseph Williamson, knight, likewise privy councillor to the said King, and keeper of the papers of State; and the said States-general to the sieurs Francis Verbolt, senator and burgomaster of the town of Nimeghen, post-master-general in the

duchy of Guelderland, county of Zutphen, and other places; Frederic Baron de Reede, Lord of Lier; Sir Anthony Terlee, &c. Commander of Buren, and of the order of the nobility of Holland and West Friesland; Anthony Heinsius, counsellor, pensionary, keeper of the great seal, and superintendent of the fiefs of the same province of Holland and West Friesland; John Beeker, antient senator and burgomaster of the town of Middleburgh; John Van der Does, Lord of Burgelstein, of the order of the nobility of the province of Utrecht; William Van Huren, deputy from the nobility of the states of Friesland; Arnold Lemsker, burgomaster of the town of Deventer; and John de Drews: all deputies in the assembly of the said States-general, from the provinces of Guelderland, Holland and West Friesland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen and Omelandt; who by virtue of the said powers have agreed upon the articles following: —

I. The peace re-established by the treaty of Ryswick between the most serene and most mighty Prince Louis XIV., most Christian King of France and Navarre; the most serene and most mighty Prince William III., King of Great Britain; and the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, their heirs and successors, their kingdoms, states, and subjects, shall be firm and lasting; and their Majesties and the said States-general shall reciprocally do everything that may contribute to the benefit and advantage, the one of the other.

II. As the chief aim which his said most Christian Majesty, and his said Majesty of Great Britain, and the said States-general, do propose to themselves, is the maintaining the general tranquillity of Europe they have not been able to see, without grief, how the King of Spain's state of health is of late become so languishing; that there is all reason in the world to fear that that prince

cannot have long to live. Now, although they are not able to turn their thoughts towards that event without affliction, because of the true and sincere friendship they have for him, yet they have judged it to be so much the more necessary to look forward upon the same, because his Catholic Majesty having no issue, the succession coming to fall, would infallibly occasion a new war, if the most Christian King should maintain his pretensions, or those of the Dauphin, to the whole succession of Spain; if the Emperor should likewise support his pretensions, those of the king of the Romans, the Archduke, his second son, or his other children; and the eldest of Bavaria, those of the Prince Electoral his eldest son to the said succession.

III. And whereas the two kings, and the States-general desire, above all things, the preservation of the public quiet, and the avoiding a new war in Europe, by accommodating the disputes and differences that might arise on account of the said succession, or by reason of the umbrage from too many dominions being united under one prince, they have thought good to take beforehand the necessary measures for preventing the calamities which the said accident of the death of the Catholic King without issue might produce.

IV. Therefore it has been stipulated and agreed, that the said case happening, the most Christian King, as well in his own name, as in that of the Dauphin, his children, male or female, heirs and successors, born and to be born, shall hold themselves satisfied, as they do by these presents hold themselves satisfied, that the said Dauphin have for his share in full property, plenary possession, and extinction of all his pretensions to the succession of Spain, to have and enjoy the same to him, his heirs and successors, born and to be born, for ever, without being ever molested on any pretence whatsoever, of rights or claims, directly or indirectly, even by cession, appeal, revolt, or otherwise,

on the part of the Emperor, the King of the Romans, the Archduke Charles his second son, his other children, male or female, and descendants, his heirs and successors, born and to be born; or in like manner on the part of the Elector of Bavaria, in the name of the Prince Electoral of Bavaria his eldest son, or of the Prince Electoral, their issue, descendants, heirs and successors, born or to be born, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; the places at present depending on the monarchy of Spain, situated on the coast of Tuscany; or the adjacent islands comprehended under the name of Santo-Stephano, Porto-Ercole, Orbitello, Tellemone, Porto-Longo, Piombino, in the same manner likewise as the Spaniards do now hold them; the town and marquisate of Final in the same manner likewise as the Spaniards hold them; the province of Guipuscoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia and San Sebastian situated in that province, and especially the port of Passage which is therein comprised; with this restriction only, that if there be any places depending on the said province which shall be found to lie beyond the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alava, or Biscay, on the side of Spain, they shall remain to Spain; and in like manner, if there be any places depending on the provinces subject to Spain, but lying on this side the Pyrenees, or other mountains of Navarre, Alava and Biscay, on the side of the province of Guipuscoa, they thall remain to France; and the passages of the said mountains, and the said mountains that shall lie between the said province of Guipuscoa, Navarre, Alava, and Biscay, to whomsoever they belong, they shall be shared between France and Spain in such manner as that there shall remain as much of the said passages and mountains to France on her side as there shall remain to Spain on hers; the whole, with the fortifications, warlike ammunitions, powder, bullets, cannon, galleys, galley-slaves, which shall be found to appertain to the king of Spain at the time of his decease,

without issue, and to be annexed to the kingdoms, places, islands and provinces which are to compose the share of the Dauphin: it being to be understood, that the galleys, galley-slaves, and other effects appertaining to the king of Spain, by the kingdom of Spain, and other dominions which fall to the share of the prince electoral of Bavaria, shall remain to him; those which belong to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily being to go to the Dauphin, as abovesaid. In consideration of which kingdoms, islands, provinces and places, the said Most Christian King, as well in his own name, as in that of the Dauphin, his children, male or female, heirs and successors, born and to be born; as likewise the said Dauphin, for himself, his children male or female, heirs and successors, born and to be born (who has also given his full power to that purpose to Count Tallard), do promise and engage to renounce, at the time of the said succession, as in case they do at this time by these presents renounce all their rights and pretensions to the said crown of Spain, and to the other kingdoms, islands, states, countries, and places, now depending thereon; and that they will cause solemn acts of the whole matter to be dispatched in the strongest and best form that can be, which shall be delivered at the time of the ratification of this treaty.

V. The crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms, islands, states, countries, and places, which at present depend thereon, shall be given and assigned to the prince, eldest son of the elector of Bavaria (except what has been declared in the foregoing article to make up the share of the Dauphin) in full propriety and plenary possession for his share, and in extinction of all his pretensions to the said succession of Spain, to enjoy the same to him, his heirs, and successors, born and to be born for ever; so as that he shall never be molested, on any pretence whatsoever, of rights or claims, directly or indirectly, either by cession,

appeal, revolt, or otherwise, on the part of the most Christian King, the said Dauphin, or his issue, male or female, and descendants, his heirs, and successors, born and to be born; nor on the part of the Emperor, the king of the Romans, the archduke Charles, his second son, his other children, male or female, and descendants, his heirs and successors, born and to be born. In consideration of which crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms, islands, states, countries, and places depending thereon, the elector of Bavaria, as well in the quality of father, and lawful tutor, and administrator to the electoral Prince, his eldest son, as in the name of the said electoral Prince, and in that of their children, heirs and successors, born and to be born; as likewise the said electoral prince of Bavaria, as soon as he shall come of age, for his own self, his children, heirs and successors, born and to be born, shall hold themselves satisfied, that the said electoral prince have for his share the cession made above in this article; and the said elector of Bavaria, as well in the quality of father and lawful tutor, administrator of the electoral prince his eldest son, as in the name of the said prince, and in that of his children, heirs, and successors, born and to be born, shall renounce, at the time of the death of his Catholic Majesty, and the said electoral prince as soon as he shall come of age, all rights and pretensions to the portion assigned to the Dauphin, and to that which is to be assigned to the archduke Charles by the following articles; and they shall cause solemn acts of the whole matter to be dispatched, in the strongest and best form that can be; to wit, the elector of Bavaria, in the quality abovesaid, at the time of the decease of his Catholic Majesty without issue, and the said electoral Prince as soon as he shall come of age.

VI. The Duchy of Milan shall always be excepted out of the said cessions and assignations, which the two kings and the States-general have agreed shall be given to the

archduke Charles of Austria, second son to the most serene and most mighty prince Leopold, elected emperor of the Romans, for his share, and in extinction of all the pretensions and rights which the said Emperor, the king of the Romans, the archduke Charles his second son, all his other children, male or female, and descendants, his successors and heirs, born and to be born, might have to the said succession of Spain; which said archduke shall have, in full property and plenary possession, the said Duchy of Milan, to him, his heirs and successors, born and to be born, to enjoy the same likewise for ever, without being at any time molested on any pretence whatsoever, of rights or claims, directly or indirectly, on the part of the most Christian King, the said Dauphin, or the princes, his children and descendants, his heirs and successors, born and to be born; or in like manner on the part of the elector of Bavaria, in the name of the electoral prince, their children, descendants, heirs and successors, born and to be born.

VII. In consideration of which Duchy of Milan, the Emperor also, as well in his own name as in that of the king of the Romans, the archduke Charles, his second son, his children, male or female, their children, heirs and successors, born and to be born; as likewise the king of the Romans, and the archduke Charles, as soon as he shall come of age, for himself, their children, heirs and successors, born and to be born, shall hold themselves satisfied, that the archduke have, in extinction of all their pretensions to the succession of Spain, the cession of the Duchy of Milan made as above; and the said Emperor, as well in his own name as in that of the king of Romans, the archduke Charles, his second son, his children, male or female, and theirs, their heirs and successors; as likewise the said king of the Romans in his own name shall renounce, at the time of the decease of his Catholic Majesty, and the archduke Charles, as soon as he shall come of age, all other

rights and pretensions to the said crown of Spain, and to the other kingdoms, islands, states, countries, and places depending thereon, which compose the shares and portions above assigned to the Dauphin, the electoral prince of Bavaria; and they shall cause solemn acts of this whole matter to be dispatched in the strongest and best form that can be; to wit, the Emperor and the king of the Romans at the time of the decease of his Catholic Majesty without issue, and the archduke Charles, as soon as he shall come of age.

VIII. This present treaty shall be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria by the King of Great Britain; and the States-general, immediately after the signing and exchange of the ratifications, and his Imperial Majesty, the king of the Romans, and the said Elector, shall be invited to approve thereof at the time of the decease of his Catholic Majesty without issue; and the archduke Charles, as likewise the electoral prince of Bavaria, as soon as they shall come of age.

IX. But if the Emperor, the king of the Romans, or the elector of Bavaria, refuse to enter therein, the two kings, and the States-general, shall hinder the prince, son, or brother of him that refuses, from entering into possession of that which shall be assigned him, and his portion shall remain as it were in sequestration in the hands of the viceroys, governors, and other regents who govern on the part of the king of Spain, who shall not disuse themselves thereof but with the consent of the two kings and the States-general, till such time as he shall have agreed to the said partition, and this treaty; and in case that notwithstanding he should endeavour to take possession of this portion, or of that which shall be assigned to others, the said two kings, and the States-general, as likewise those that shall be contented with their share by virtue of this agreement, shall hinder him with all their might.

X. The king of Spain coming to die without issue, and the abovesaid case by that means happening, the two kings and the States-general do oblige themselves to leave the whole succession in the condition it shall then be, without seizing thereof, in the whole or in part, directly or indirectly, but each prince shall and may forthwith put himself in possession of what is assigned him for his share, as soon as he shall on his part have complied with the Vth, VIth, VIIth, and IXth articles preceding; and if there be any difficulty therein, the two kings and the States-general shall use all possible endeavours, to the end that each one may be put into possession of his portion, according to this agreement; and that the same may have its full effect, engaging to give, by sea and by land, such succours and aids of men and ships as are necessary to compel by force those that shall oppose the execution thereof.

XI. If the said kings and the States-general, or any of them, are attacked by whomsoever it may be, on account of this agreement, or the executing thereof, they shall mutually assist each other with all their power, and they shall make themselves guarantees of the punctual execution of the said agreement, and the renunciations made pursuant thereto.

XII. All kings, princes, and states shall be admitted into the present treaty that desire to enter therein; and the said two kings and the States-general, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to request and invite all whom they shall think fit to request and invite, who shall in like manner be guarantees of the execution of this treaty, and of the validity of the renunciations therein contained.

XIII. And for the further securing of the quiet of Europe, the said kings, princes, and states, shall not only be guarantees of the said execution of the present treaty, and of the validity of the said renunciations as above mentioned, but if any one of the princes, in favour of whom

the said partition is made, should hereafter endeavour to disturb the order settled by this treaty, make new attempts contrary thereto, and so aggrandize himself to the detriment of the others, under any pretext whatsoever, the same guaranty of the treaty shall be judged to extend even to that case in such manner as the kings, princes, and states, who undertake the same, shall be obliged to employ their forces in opposing the said attempts, and maintaining all things in the condition agreed on by the said articles.

XIV. If any prince whatsoever oppose the taking possession of the shares agreed on, the said two kings and the States-general shall be obliged to assist one another against such opposition, and to hinder the same with all their power; and it shall be agreed immediately after the signing of this present treaty, in what proportion each is to contribute, as well by sea as by land.

XV. The present treaty shall be ratified and approved by the said two kings and the States-general; and the letters of ratification shall be exchanged within the space of three weeks, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signing. Done at the Hague the eleventh day of October, 1698.

SECRET ARTICLE RELATING TO THE ELECTOR OF BAVARIA.

Whereas the most Christian king, the king of Great Britain, and the States-general of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, have agreed by the treaty this day signed, concerning the partition that is to be made of the succession of the king of Spain, to prevent by that means the calamities which the death of that prince, if he should die without issue, might produce in Europe; and whereas the greatest share of the said succession has been assigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria, without having deter-

mined to whom the same shall descend after him if he should in like manner happen to die without issue, his most Christian Majesty, his Britannic Majesty, and the States-general, for the further avoiding the disputes and wars which such a case might produce, have made a new agreement by this secret article, which shall have the same force as the treaty above mentioned whereto it relates.

1. If the king of Spain happens to die without issue, and consequently that the kingdoms of Spain, the Indies, islands, and other countries and states which are assigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria, do fall under his power, the present elector of Bavaria shall be tutor and curator to the prince his son during his minority, all which time he shall have the charge of the government, and the administration of all the kingdoms, islands, states, countries, and places which have been assigned to the prince his son by the said treaty.

2. If the said prince should happen to die without issue, his electoral highness of Bavaria, his father, shall succeed him in all the kingdoms, islands, states, countries, and places, which have been assigned to him for his share; and he shall enjoy the same in full propriety and plenary possession to him and his children, males or females, descendants, successors, and heirs; nor any other shall or may under any pretext form the least pretension to that succession; his most Christian Majesty, his Britannic Majesty, and the States-general, engaging themselves anew to employ all their power, by land and by sea, for maintaining the order established by this article relating to the succession to the monarchy of Spain, whereto they have unanimously agreed, in expectation of procuring by this precaution the continuance of the general tranquillity which has lately been established in Europe.

All kings, princes and states, that shall be willing to

enter into this present treaty, shall be admitted therein when it shall be made public, upon the death of the electoral prince, in case that happens, without issue; and the two said kings, and the States-general, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to request and unite all those whom they shall think fit to request and invite, who shall in like manner be guarantees of that which is contained in this present secret article. In witness whereof we who have signed the treaty whereto this present article relates, have also signed the said article. Done at the Hague the 11th of October, 1698.

SECRET ARTICLE CONCERNING THE DUCHY OF MILAN.

The two kings and the States-general have likewise agreed, that in case the duchy of Milan should come to be sequestered, by virtue of the clause mentioned in the IXth article of the treaty concluded this day, into the hands of the prince of Vandemont, at present governor thereof, that upon his decease, whenever it shall happen, the said sequestration, and consequently the government of the said duchy, shall be administered by Prince Charles of Vandemont, his son.

This secret article shall be of the same force as if it was inserted in the treaty made this day, to which it relates. In witness whereof, we who have signed the said treaty have signed the present article. Done at the Hague the 11th of October, 1698.

SEPARATE ARTICLE EXPLANATORY OF THE TREATY.

In explanation of the Vth, VIIth, and Xth articles of the treaty concluded this day at the Hague, it is agreed, that notwithstanding the Archduke Charles be not to give his act of renunciation before he is of age, provided the

Emperor and the king of the Romans have given theirs, the said Archduke may enter into possession of his share, at the time of the decease of his Catholic Majesty without issue, though he be not of age; it being well understood that the said Archduke shall still be obliged to give his act of renunciation when he shall be of age; and in like manner it is agreed, that though the electoral prince of Bavaria be under age, provided the elector of Bavaria, his father, in the quality of father and lawful guardian and administrator of the said prince, has given his, the said electoral prince of Bavaria may enter into possession of his share, at the time of the decease of his Catholic Majesty without issue, though under age; it being well understood that the said electoral prince of Bavaria shall still be obliged to give his act of renunciation as soon as he shall be of age. In witness whereof, we that have signed the treaty have also signed the present article. Done at the Hague the 11th of October, 1698.

II.—THE SECOND TREATY OF PARTITION.

Be it known unto all who shall see these presents, that the most serene and most potent prince Louis XIV., by the grace of God, most Christian King of France and Navarre; and the most serene and most potent prince William III., also by the grace of God king of Great Britain; and the States-general of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, having nothing more in design than to confirm by new obligations that good intelligence re-established between his most Christian Majesty, his Majesty of Great Britain, and the said States-general of the United Provinces, by the last treaty concluded at Ryswick; and to prevent, by taking timely measures, those events which may raise new wars in Europe, have to this end given their full powers to conclude a

new treaty; that is to say, his most Christian Majesty to Count Tallard, ambassador extraordinary of France in England, and to Count Briord, Marquis de Seneran, one of his Majesty's privy council, and his ambassador extraordinary to the States-general of the United Provinces; his said Britannic Majesty to the Earl of Portland, &c., and to the Earl of Jersey, first secretary of state, and privy counsellor to the king; and the said States-general to the Lords John van Ersen, burgomaster and senator of the town of Zutphen; Frederic Baron de Reede, Sir Anthony Terlee, of the order of the nobility of Holland and West Friesland; Anthony Heinsius, counsellor, pensionary, keeper of the great seal, and superintendent of the fiefs of the same province; William of Passau, Lord d'Odyke Cortigene, first noble and representative of the nobility in the assembly of the States and of the deputies, counsellor of Zealand, Everard de Weede, Lord of Weede, Dyckvelt, &c., president of the States of the province of Utrecht; William van Huren, deputy of the nobility of the States of Friesland; Arnold Lemsker, burgomaster of Deventer; and John van Heek, senator of the town of Groningen; all deputies of the said Lords States-general, on behalf of Guelderland, Holland and West Friesland, of Zealand, of Utrecht, of Friesland, of Overyssel, and of Groningen and Omelandt; who by virtue of the said powers have agreed to the following articles.

I. The peace re-established by the treaty of Ryswick, between his most Christian Majesty, his Britannic Majesty, and the States-general of the United Provinces, their heirs and successors, their kingdoms, states, and subjects, shall be firm and constant; and their Majesties and the said States-general shall reciprocally do what they can to contribute to the advantage and profit one of the other.

II. As the principal object which his said most Christian

Majesty, his Britannic Majesty, and the States-general propose to themselves, is that of maintaining the general tranquillity of Europe, they could not without sorrow understand that the state of the king of Spain's health has for some time been so languishing, that the life of the said prince is much feared. Though they cannot think upon this event without trouble, because of the sincere and true love they have for him, they have nevertheless thought it the more necessary to consider it, because his Catholic Majesty having no children, the business of the succession will infallibly raise a new war, if the most Christian king should maintain his own pretensions, those of the Dauphin, or of his successors, to the whole succession of Spain; and if the Emperor should also make good his pretensions, those of the king of the Romans, of the Archduke his second son, or of his other children, males or females, unto the said succession.

III. And as the two kings and the States-general desire above all things the conservation of the public peace, and to prevent a new war in Europe, by accommodating the disputes and differences which might arise upon the subject of the said succession, or by the umbrage of three States re-united under one and the same prince, they have thought good to take beforehand necessary measures to prevent the evils which the sorrowful event of the Catholic king's death without children might produce.

IV. Therefore it is agreed that if it should happen, the most Christian king, as well in his own name as in that of the Dauphin, his male children, heirs and successors, born and to be born, as also the Dauphin for himself, his male children, &c., shall hold himself satisfied, and do hold themselves satisfied by these presents, that the Dauphin shall have for his share, in full property and possession, and in lieu of all his possessions to the succession of Spain, to be enjoyed by him, his heirs, successors, descendants,

males or females, for ever, without ever being molested under any pretence whatsoever in his rights or pretensions, directly or indirectly, either by cession, appeal, revolt, or otherwise, by the Emperor, the king of the Romans, the Archduke Charles his second son, the Archduchess his other issue, &c., the kingdoms of Naples and of Sicily in the same manner the Spaniards possess them at present, the places depending upon the monarchy of Spain, situated on the coast of Tuscany, or the isles adjacent; in the same manner also as the Spaniards possess them at present, the town and marquisate of Final; in that same manner also as they possess them, the province of Guipuscoa, and particularly the towns of Fontarabia and San-Sebastian situated in that province, and especially the port of Passage which is therein comprehended, with this restriction only, that if there be any places dependent upon the said province, which shall be found situated beyond the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alava, or Biscay, on the side of Spain, they shall remain to Spain; and if there be any places in like manner depending upon the provinces subjected to Spain, which are on this side the Pyrenees, or other mountains betwixt the said province of Guipuscoa, Navarre, Alava, and Biscay, let them belong to whom they will, they shall be divided between France and Spain, in such sort as there shall remain as much of the said mountains and passes to France on her side as shall remain to Spain on hers; the whole with the fortifications, ammunitions of war, powder, ball, cannon, galleys, galley-slaves, and the effects belonging to the king of Spain at the time of his decease without issue, and to be annexed to the kingdoms, places, islands, and provinces which are to compose the share of the Dauphin, provided that the galleys, the galley-slaves, and the effects belonging to the king of Spain for the kingdom of Spain, and other dominions which fall to the share of the Archduke, shall

remain to him; those which belong to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily being to return to the Dauphin so as above said.

Further, the dominions of the duke of Lorraine, that is to say, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, so as Charles IV. of that name possessed them, and as they were restored by the treaty of Ryswick, shall be yielded and transferred to the Dauphin, his heirs and successors, &c., in property and full possession, in lieu of the duchy of Milan, which shall be quitted and exchanged to the said duke of Lorraine, his male children, &c., in all property and full possession, who will not refuse so advantageous a bargain, it being understood that the county of Bitch belongs to the prince of Vaudemont, who shall enter into possession of the lands which he heretofore enjoyed, which have been, or ought to have been restored according to the treaty of Ryswick; on the account of which said kingdoms, islands, provinces, and places, the said most Christian king, as well in his own as in the name of the Dauphin, his male children, &c., who has also given his full power to Count Tallard and to Count Briord, promising and engaging themselves to renounce at the opening of the said succession of Spain, as in this case they have at this time renounced by these presents all their rights and pretensions to the said crown of Spain, and to all the other kingdoms, islands, states, lands and places, which at this time depend thereupon, except what is above excepted for his part: all which they shall confirm by solemn acts in the most authentic and best form as may be, which shall be delivered at the time of the exchange of the ratification of this present treaty to the king of Great Britain, and the States-general.

V. All the towns, places, and ports, situate in the kingdoms and provinces which are to compose the share of the Dauphin, shall be preserved without being demolished

VI. The said crown of Spain and the other kingdoms, islands, states, lands and places, which the Catholic king at this time possesses, as well within as without Europe, shall be given to the Archduke Charles, second son to the Emperor, except what has been given in the 4th article for the share of the Dauphin, and of the duchy of Milan, according to the said fourth article in full property and possession as his part, excluding all his other pretensions to the said succession of Spain; to enjoy the same for himself and successors, born or to be born, for ever, without being ever molested under any pretext whatsoever of rights or pretensions, directly or indirectly, by cession, appeal, revolt, or otherwise, on the part of the Most Christian King, or the Dauphin, or his children male, or &c. For which said crown of Spain, and other kingdoms, islands, and places thereupon depending, the Emperor, as well in his own name as in that of the king of the Romans, and the Archduke Charles his second son, the Archduchesses his daughters, his children males, or &c., as also the king of the Romans for himself, and the Archduke Charles, as soon as he shall be of age, for himself, their children, &c., shall be satisfied that the Archduke Charles shall have in lieu of all their pretensions upon the crown of Spain, the said cession above said; and the said Emperor, as well in his own name as in that of the king of the Romans, the Archduke Charles his second son, the Archduchesses his daughters, his children males, or &c., or their issue, as also the said king of the Romans in his own name, shall renounce, when they shall enter into and ratify this present treaty; and the Archduke Charles, as soon as he shall be of age, all other rights and pretensions to the said kingdoms, islands, states, lands and places which compose the share or portion assigned on the Dauphin, and of him who shall have the duchy of Milan by exchange of what shall be given to the Dauphin; of

all which they shall cause the most solemn and authentic acts possible to be made; that is to say, the Emperor and the king of the Romans, when they shall ratify this present treaty, and the Archduke as soon as he shall come of age, which shall be delivered to his Britannic Majesty and the said States-general.

VII. Immediately after the exchange and ratification of this present treaty, it shall be communicated to the Emperor, who shall be invited to enter thereinto; but if, after three months' time from the day of the said communication and the said invitation, or the day that his Catholic Majesty shall die, if it happen before the expiration of the said three months, his Imperial Majesty and the king of the Romans should refuse to enter thereinto, and to agree to the share assigned to the Archduke Charles, the two kings or their successors, and the States-general, shall agree upon a prince to whom the part shall be given; and in case, notwithstanding the present convention, the Archduke shall take possession either of the part which might fall to him, before he has accepted the present treaty, or of that part which might be assigned to the Dauphin, or to him who shall have the duchy of Milan in exchange, as abovesaid, the said two kings and the States-general by virtue of this convention shall hinder him with all their forces.

VIII. The Archduke shall not pass into Spain, nor into the duchy of Milan, during the life of his Catholic Majesty, but with common consent, and not otherwise.

IX. If the Archduke should die without children, either before or after the death of the Catholic king, the share which is hereby assigned to him by the articles of this treaty, shall come to such male child of the Emperor, or &c., except the king of the Romans, or such children, males, or &c. of the king of the Romans, which his Imperial Majesty shall think fit to assign it to; and in case his said

Imperial Majesty should die without having made the abovesaid assignment, it may be done by the king of the Romans, but on condition that the said part shall never be united nor belong to the person of him who shall be Emperor or king of the Romans, or is become one or the other, be it by succession, will, contract of marriage, donation, exchange, cession, appeal, revolt, or otherwise; and in like manner the said share of the Archduke shall never come or belong to the person of a prince that shall be king or Dauphin of France, or that is become one or the other, by succession, will, contract of marriage, donation, or otherwise.

X. The king of Spain dying without children, and the abovesaid case happening, the two Kings, and the States-general, do oblige themselves to leave the whole succession in the same state as it shall then be, without seizing the whole or any part, directly or indirectly; but each prince immediately may put himself in possession of what is assigned him as his share, as soon as he has fulfilled on his part the 4th and 6th preceding articles; and in case of difficulty, the two kings and the States-general shall do their utmost endeavours, to the end that each one shall be put in possession of his part according to this agreement; and that it may have its entire effect, engage themselves to give by sea and land such help and assistance of men and ships as shall be necessary to constrain by force such who shall oppose the said execution.

XI. If the abovesaid kings and States-general, or either of them, be attacked because of this treaty, or of the execution that shall be thereof made, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and render themselves guarantees of the abovesaid treaty, and of the renunciations made thereupon.

XII. All kings, princes, states, that will enter into the same, shall be admitted into the present treaty; and it shall

be lawful to the two kings and States-general, and to each of them in particular, to require and invite all that they shall think fit to enter into this present treaty, and to be jointly guarantees for the execution thereof, and of the validity of the renunciations herein contained.

XIII. And for the further securing the peace of Europe, the said kings, princes and states shall not only be invited to be guarantees of the execution of the present treaty, and of the validity of the renunciations, as above, but if any one of the princes, in favour of whom the shares are assigned, do in time to come break the order established by this treaty, and begin new enterprises contrary to the same, and so aggrandise himself at the expence of one or other, under any pretence whatsoever, the guaranty of this treaty shall be understood to extend so far also in this case, that all the kings, princes, and states who promise the same, shall be obliged to employ their forces against such enterprises, for the maintaining all things in the same condition as agreed to by the said articles.

XIV. In case any prince whatsoever oppose the taking possession of the shares agreed on, the said two kings and the States shall be obliged to assist one another against such opposition, and to hinder it with all their forces; and shall agree, after the signing this present treaty, on the proportion that each shall contribute both by sea and land.

XV. The present treaty, and all acts made, or that have dependence thereupon, and especially the solemn acts that his Most Christian Majesty and the Dauphin are obliged to give, by virtue of the 4th article aforesaid, shall be registered in the parliament of Paris, according to the form and tenure, and usual custom, to have place amongst the conditions therein contained, as soon as the Emperor has entered into the present treaty, or at the end of three months that are allowed him for that purpose, in case he does not enter into it sooner; and likewise his Imperial

Majesty, when he enters into the same, shall be obliged to get it approved and registered, with all the acts made in consequence thereof, or which have relation thereunto; especially the solemn acts which his Imperial Majesty, the king of the Romans, and the Archduke shall be obliged to give, by virtue of the 6th article abovesaid, in the council of state or otherwise, according to the most authentic form of the country.

XVI. The ratifications of the two kings and the States-general shall be all three exchanged at London at the same time within the space of three weeks, reckoning from the day that the States-general shall have signed, or sooner, if possible.

Done and signed at London $\frac{\text{21 February, o. s. 1699}}{\text{3 March, n. s. 1700}}$ by us, plenipotentiaries of France and England; and at the Hague, the 25th of the said month of March, 1700, by us plenipotentiaries of France, and of the States-general, the two kings and the States-general having agreed that the signing of this present treaty should be performed in this manner.

SECRET ARTICLE.

His Britannic Majesty, his Most Christian Majesty, and the States-general, having a desire to prevent a war, which might be occasioned by the death of the king of Spain without children, have agreed on a treaty about the succession, which was signed at London the 21st of February o. s. and at the Hague, the 25th of March 1700, n. s., and as it is said in the 4th article of the said treaty, that the duchies of Lorraine and Bar shall be yielded to the Dauphin, in exchange for the duchy of Milan, which should be given to the duke of Lorraine; and as the two kings and the States-general think that nothing is more

proper for the ends proposed, they will make use of their interest, either jointly or separately, to engage the said duke of Lorraine to consent to it. But as it is necessary to determine who shall be the prince to whom the duchy of Milan shall be committed, and what shall be given to the Dauphin for reparation, in the room of the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, if, against all likelihood, the duke of Lorraine would not give his consent to this exchange, notwithstanding the good offices and continual applications repeated during the life of the king of Spain, or to the time here-under agreed to, after his death; the said two kings and the States-general above named, have agreed, that in that case his said Britannic Majesty and the States-general shall choose one of these alternatives, at the end of the said term, after the death of his Catholic Majesty, that is, to consign the duchy of Milan into the hands of the Elector of Bavaria, to enjoy it for him, his children, males and females, his heirs, successors, descendants, males or females, born or to be born, for ever, in entire property and full possession, ordering in exchange Navarre for the Dauphin, to enjoy it, he and his children, males and females, his heirs, successors, or descendants, born and to be born, in entire property and full possession; or, instead of Navarre, the town and duchy of Luxemburg, and the county of Chirry. Or else to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Savoy, to enjoy it for himself, his children, males and females, heirs, successors, and descendants, males or females, born and to be born, in all property and full possession; ordering in exchange for the share of the Dauphin, the town and county of Nice, the valley of Barcelonetta, and the duchy of Savoy, to enjoy it in perpetuity and full possession, he, his children, heirs, successors and descendants, males or females, born and to be born.

Moreover, the two kings and the States-general have

agreed by this secret article, that though it is not said in the 7th article of the secret treaty, signed at London the 21st of February, o. s. and at the Hague the 25th of March 1700, that a prince shall be agreed on, to whom the said portion of the Archduke shall be given, in case the Emperor and the King of the Romans will not subscribe to the said treaty, after the term of three months shall be expired, to be counted from the day on which it shall be notified to him; nevertheless, the Emperor shall be allowed to subscribe during two months, to be reckoned from the day on which the death of his Catholic Majesty shall be made known to him by his Britannic Majesty, his Most Christian Majesty, and the States-general. But in case his Imperial Majesty refuses to enter into it in the time above-named, the two kings and the States-general shall agree, at the end of the time above-appointed, on a prince, to whom the said portion shall be given, and the remainder of what is in the said 7th article, from which what is above-said does not derogate, shall be punctually executed.

It is further agreed, that if the Archduke should go into Spain, or into the duchy of Milan, though it is said in the 8th article of the said treaty, to which this secret article refers, that he cannot go thither before the death of his Catholic Majesty, but by the common consent of the two kings and the States-general, his Britannic Majesty and the States-general engage themselves to use all their possible endeavours and might, and even to proceed to acts of hostility, if it be necessary; in short, to take all convenient measures, in concert with his most Christian Majesty, to oblige his Catholic Majesty and the Spaniards to send him back out of Spain, or out of the duchy of Milan, without any delay.

This article shall have the same force, as if it had been, word for word, inserted in the treaty to which it refers,

and shall be enregistered by the parliament of Paris, immediately after the death of his Catholic Majesty without children.

Done and signed at London the 21st of February, O. S. by the plenipotentiaries of England and France, and on the 25th of March 1700, N. S. at the Hague, by the plenipotentiaries of France and of the States-general.

III. — NEGOTIATION OF HARCOURT AT MADRID.

(Extract from the Memoirs of Torcy.)

"The electoral prince of Bavaria died the 8th of February 1699. His Majesty sent orders to Count Tallard to ask the king of England's opinion concerning the fatal event, which made void the principal conditions of the treaty of Partition; and to propose a new convention to that prince on the same plan as the foregoing, which could be no longer in force. King William had some thoughts of renewing his former engagements, the moment he heard of the death of the electoral prince. He had given orders to his ambassador at Paris to inform himself of the king's sentiments, concerning the change which the unexpected death of that prince had made in the measures taken for preserving the tranquillity of Europe. * *

"While the new negotiation was commencing in France and England, the king heard that, pursuant to his orders, the Marquis d'Harcourt had delivered to the king of Spain his Majesty's memorial, concerning the last will made in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria. All the answer given was, 'that he ought not to believe every common report.' The verbal answer given by the king of Spain to the Marquis d'Harcourt, was followed a few days after his audience by a new answer in writing, couched in general terms like the former. The purport of it was,

'that this prince had not done any thing in the least to violate the peace between the two crowns, but that he was as eager and as desirous of preserving it inviolably as his Most Christian Majesty; besides, as the Divine goodness had been pleased to restore him to his health, he did not think himself any way obliged to take any hasty measures; and therefore he hoped he should still have it in his power for many years to make a return to the marks of friendship which his Most Christian Majesty had shown him.

"The settlement in favour of the electoral prince was a known fact; the elector, his father, had given notice of it to the king. But now that this young prince was no more, it would have been needless to clear up an undoubted truth. The king only ordered his ambassador to declare, that without entering into the discussion of a fact known to all Europe, it was sufficient that the king of Spain took care to preserve this peace, and that since he was neither in such a decline of years nor of health, as to think it necessary to nominate a successor, he would be pleased to reject every proposal that might be contrary to the laws and established customs of his kingdom. This speech which the Marquis d'Harcourt had orders to make to the Catholic king, was accompanied with assurances of friendship on the part of his Most Christian Majesty, and sincere wishes that God would be pleased to hear the prayers of the Spanish nation, in granting to the king their master the posterity they desired. The ambassador had orders to speak to the council of state in the same style, and to drop some hints capable of making them suspect and apprehend the resentment of his Most Christian Majesty, in case he should be further provoked by any unjust settlement, similar to that which had been made in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria.

* * * * * *

"The Spaniards had now no longer any room to doubt

of the treaty signed the preceding year at the Hague, and a report prevailed towards the end of July 1699, that this treaty, which the decease of the electoral prince had made void, either was actually, or would shortly be renewed.

"The King of Spain received this intelligence by a courier from his ambassador in Holland: all his doubt was whether the Emperor had joined in the scheme. This second treaty was not yet signed, but the conditions of the partition were settled. Their having advice of it at Madrid occasioned different reasonings, and produced two effects. The most general opinion was, that this treaty ought to be looked upon as a French artifice, designed to intimidate the Spaniards, and to make them look upon the dismemberment of their monarchy as a thing certain and inevitable, if ever the Archduke was called to the crown: it was said that the only way to prevent the partition of such extensive dominions, and to preserve them entire under one sovereign, was to secure them to one of the princes of the royal family of France; that this was the only measure conducive to the advantage of Spain; that they ought to determine upon it, had they no other motive than to be revenged of, and to punish the treachery of King William and the Dutch. It was almost the general voice, that without loss of time they should despatch a member of the council of state into France, with a commission to prevail upon his Most Christian Majesty to send the Duke of Anjou forthwith to Madrid, and in the mean time to enter into an offensive and defensive league with France, in order to preserve the Spanish monarchy entire and undivided.

"The King of Spain by frequent and dangerous relapses was gradually drawing towards his latter end, a circumstance which rendered him more anxious in regard of what measures he should take for the good of his subjects, when he was apprised that France, in conjunction with the other powers of Europe, had already entered, and again was

entering into measures for dividing his dominions after his decease.

"The Marquis de Castel-dos-Rios, a Catalan, whom King Charles had appointed his ambassador to France, and who was still in Spain, had orders given him to set out as soon as possible for Paris. At his arrival he was to demand an audience of the king, and to represent to him, that his Catholic Majesty being informed of the different negotiations carried on in England and Holland, could not without surprise observe, that in his life-time they should attempt to determine the fate of the monarchy after his decease, and by an unparalleled convention divide the several states belonging to his crown; that he had not only flattered himself the king would not enter into, but even that he would oppose, any such treaty; especially as his Catholic Majesty assured him, that he had come into no engagement in regard to the succession with any prince whatever, and as he gave him his royal word not to agree to any proposal contrary to the interests of France. The ambassador was to add, that the least his master could, and actually did, demand, was that they would leave him in the peaceable enjoyment of his dominions during the remainder of his days. He complained especially of the treachery of the English and the Dutch.

"The Spanish ambassador was not yet arrived in France, when his Majesty, in concert with King William, thought proper to acquaint the king of Spain with the measures taken by the allies for maintaining the general tranquillity, if unfortunately this prince should leave no issue behind him. The Marquis d'Harcourt was commissioned to wait upon the king of Spain with a confirmation of the news, which he had already heard by public report, and to invite him to sign the treaty. * * * *

"The uncertainty of the Emperor's resolution had served as a pretext to retard the conclusion of the new treaty.

King William and the States-General deferred signing it, in hopes, as they said, of persuading the Emperor to enter into the same engagements.

"During these delays, the King wanted to know the Marquis d'Harcourt's sentiments, in regard to acquainting the king of Spain with the measures concerted for securing the general quiet of Europe by a Partition-treaty; and his Majesty ordered the Marquis in the month of July (1699) to send him his thoughts concerning this matter.

"The ambassador in his letters had given a faithful picture of the weak condition of Spain. He had always represented in the clearest terms to his Majesty, that he ought to lay no sort of stress on the almost general desire, which the nation expressed, of seeing a prince of the blood-royal of France called to the succession of King Charles; that this favourable disposition could be of no effect, the Spaniards being under an incapacity to support it. For this very reason he had commended his Majesty's prudent resolution in entering into a negotiation with the king of England and the republic of Holland; and he had looked upon the Partition treaty as the only proper and necessary measure for preserving the peace of Europe; and yet without altering his sentiments he now made answer, 'that he was of opinion nothing could be a greater obstacle to the success of the treaty, than the communicating it to the king of Spain and to his council; that the proposing to sign it would be equally odious to the prince and to his subjects from the first to the last; that the Spaniards looked upon the dismemberment of their monarchy as the greatest misfortune that could happen them, either in regard to the estates they possessed in its several parts, or the vice-royalties and preferments which they expected, or to the honour and glory of the nation. All this, said the Marquis, will induce them upon such an extremity to oppose it, at least as far as their strength will permit;

and this declaration may at least give them time to guard against entering into possession, and to render the execution of the treaty most difficult; besides, as the dominions fallen to your Majesty's share are most difficult to seize, not only on account of their maritime situation, but of their distance, and as the bulk of the people have time enough before them to determine what party they shall take, affairs by this means become more perplexed, without my seeing any advantage your Majesty can derive from this declaration. Besides, King Charles will have reason to complain, that, without mentioning a word to him about his succession, a treaty had been entered into with other powers to divide it; and that, after pretending to make the public believe that the reason why they had forborne mentioning any thing about that subject was to avoid giving him the least uneasiness, and not to hasten the end of his days, all of a sudden the contrary will appear, by acquainting him with the treaty of Partition. And indeed, if he should happen to die at a season when ships cannot keep the sea, and the affair must be put off till the spring, your Majesty may judge that they will have time enough to take their measures; and if he lives till spring, this declaration will give them as much time as they shall want to put themselves upon their guard.'

"The Marquis d'Harcourt, foreseeing the disturbances that would happen upon the death of the king of Spain, explained himself thus at the end of his letter: 'No sooner shall this prince have closed his eyes, than there will be a general confusion, occasioned by the divisions of the nobility, the dissatisfaction of the people, and the misery to which they are reduced by the dearness of all sorts of provisions; and if there is no sort of order or administration of justice at present, much less are we to expect it whenever that event shall happen. The bent of the common people is so greatly in favour of France, that there is

all the probability in the world of their coming to me, as well as those in higher stations, who have not yet ventured to open their mouths, especially if they know nothing of the treaty. Orders will be issued out to summon the Courts; and I hope that, above all things, your Majesty will be so good as to lay your positive injunctions on me, either to stay here till you command me to depart, or to get away under the pretence of going to receive your Majesty's orders for my assisting at the Courts, as I do not see that, on this occasion, your Majesty's ambassador can do any thing to serve you.' The last article of the letter contained, 'that the king of Spain was taken worse than ever last Thursday evening; Friday and Saturday he was very ill; Sunday he began to be better; yesterday and the day before he was up a few hours; but every body is convinced he will relapse very soon, and that there is not the least prospect or hopes of his recovery.'

"After examining the observations made by the Marquis d'Harcourt, his Majesty, by his letter of the 16th of August, suspended the orders he had given him to communicate the prospect of partition to the king of Spain, and to invite him to sign it; but his view was only to wait a little longer for the Emperor's definitive answer, this prince having given hopes that he would at length accept of the dispositions made in his favour: then, according to the terms of this letter, 'there will be no longer any inconveniency in communicating a project already become public. The Spaniards without strength or government are unable of themselves to hinder the execution of a treaty, which I shall have concluded with the Emperor, England, and Holland, when all these powers will be equally interested in the success of the measures taken for the tranquillity of Europe. But even if the Spaniards were able to traverse this design, they could have recourse

to none but the Emperor, who is engaged to be satisfied with the share allotted to the Archduke: consequently, if the news of this treaty should alarm them, as there is not the least room to doubt but it will, the effect it is likely to produce cannot be prejudicial to my interests, since the Emperor reaps no benefit from it; on the contrary, the people of this monarchy will conclude, as you perceive they do at present, that the choice of the Archduke for their king would certainly involve them in a war; that this prince would be too weak to support it; that it would be impossible for him to maintain the monarchy entire against me, and against the English and the Dutch; and even if he was able to withstand all these forces, Spain must not expect to have him, since the Emperor consents to the treaty of Partition. In these circumstances it is certain that the complaints of the people ought to be rather against the Emperor than against me. I have given the king of Spain no room to be dissatisfied; I have avoided mentioning the succession, not caring to give him any uneasiness in his life-time; but I do nothing to his prejudice, when I enter into measures for securing the tranquillity of Europe after his demise. With this view I even relinquish the greatest part of my son's rights. The king of Spain might have reason to complain, had he shown himself disposed to do justice to his lawful heirs, and to make a will in favour of my son, or of my grandsons; but instead of such a disposition, ever since the peace the whole talk has been about the electoral prince of Bavaria; and, as soon as he died, my ears have been dinned with the intrigues of the Imperial ministers at Madrid, soliciting that Court to send for the Archduke, in order for his being recognized as successor to the whole Spanish monarchy. True it is that the people have seemed desirous, that if their king should die, justice may be done to the lawful heirs; but these are no more than empty wishes; for I have not seen

the least step taken in favour of my son, or of my grandsons, while the Emperor's ambassador has had interest enough to change the King of Spain's council, to remove those ministers who had the greatest share in the confidence of that prince, and to give a new form to the administration, when he did not think it sufficiently favourable to his master's intentions. No one should be surprised that in this conjuncture I have pursued other ways for securing the peace of Europe, which would surely have been disturbed, whether the King of Spain had lived and declared the Archduke his heir, or whether he had died without making a will. All these reasons, of which you may avail yourself as occasion offers, serve to convince me that the complaints of the people can be only against the Emperor. You have not amused the King of Spain with idle proposals; he would enter into no scheme with me; my measures were concerted with other powers; and, without making any disagreeable solicitations to him about the succession, I have settled matters in such a manner, that it is impossible for this event to disturb the public repose. Thus I do not see what that prince and his subjects can have to say against you, if he should live yet long enough to have the treaty communicated to him; and if it should not be published till after his decease, their reproaches would fall upon the Emperor's ambassador, and not upon you. But as I am persuaded that a people, who expected the Archduke for their sovereign, would respect the Emperor's ambassador, so there is much more reason to think that the dread of my power, the conduct you yourself have observed, and in short the engagements into which my honour must naturally lead me, will be sufficient to enforce that respect which is due to your character. The measures that the Spaniards might take, to hinder the execution of the treaty, must be entirely useless, should the Emperor enter into the engagements proposed to him; for in vain would

they desire to preserve those dominions, which he who is to be their master engaged to resign to my son. You may very well judge that if the Emperor refuses to accede to the treaty of Partition, he will acquaint the King of Spain with every particular, and then it would be needless to give him any other information. The uncertainty I am under, in regard to what step the Emperor will take, is the reason why I cannot give any positive order concerning the manner you are to conduct yourself, in case of the King of Spain's demise. Should the treaty be signed, all you would have then to do, would be to join with the Emperor's ambassador, and with the English and Dutch envoys; and to declare the terms of the partition to the States, or to the Council, if the States were not assembled; to let them see that it was necessary for perserving the general peace; that it secures a lasting tranquillity to Spain; and that as I should take possession of the dominions designed for my son, at the same time that the Archduke set out for Spain, there would be no other negotiation to conclude, so that you might return to France; but if it should please God to take the King of Spain to himself before the Emperor has accepted the treaty, or should the time in which it ought to be signed, and which was fixed on the 25th of September, be expired; in that case, all you have to do is, to give a favourable reception to those who should come to make proposals to you, and tell them that you will acquaint me therewith; that I shall listen to them with pleasure; that at the same time they should let me know what means they have of expressing their good-will by external effects; that you will inform me thereof of course, and I shall certainly have time to send you my orders before the States can assemble. I have examined whether it was proper to recall you directly from your embassy, or to let you continue some months longer. On the one hand I have considered the inconveniency of

leaving you exposed to the resentment of the populace, and perhaps not in a condition to maintain the dignity of your character; and, on the other, the prejudice my service must suffer, were I to recall you immediately. So long as the King of Spain lives I see no danger. If this prince dies, and the Emperor has signed the treaty, Count Harrach will be more exposed than you. However I am persuaded that you might easily support each other. If the Emperor should not have signed, the people will still have a greater respect for you. They will perceive that the calling of the Archduke to the crown of Spain cannot prevent a partition of their monarchy; that they shall be obliged to maintain a very disadvantageous war with forces much inferior to mine; and that instead of expecting any succours from England and Holland, these two powers will join with me; so that, far from apprehending any want of respect in the people, you will find them more desirous of my assistance, as the only thing that can save the Spanish monarchy. From these reasons I have concluded, that by continuing to reside at Madrid, there is not the least room for you to apprehend any insult from the populace; and that very great inconveniences would follow from my recalling you. The strongest reason for determining the Emperor to give his consent to the treaty, will be the notion of a very considerable party, which I may have in Spain; and that those who compose it can traverse every measure he may take, for having the Archduke declared successor to his Catholic Majesty. I cannot recall you, without giving just foundation to believe, that I myself am sensible how little this party is to be depended upon; that I abandon them; that the Emperor has no need to be afraid of their hurting him; that of course by treating with me he must lose all those territories which form my son's partition; and, in short, that the Archduke must be master of the whole monarchy, if he does but wait to see

what the people will do in his favour. Certain it is, that hitherto the King of England and the States-general have entertained the same opinion of my party in Spain; and it is not proper they should alter it. You are too sensible of the importance of those considerations to be uneasy that my service requires you to continue a few months longer at Madrid.'

"The publishing of the treaty of Partition excited the vigilance of the Council of Spain; and after the orders given to the Marquis de Castel-dos-Rios to repair forthwith to Paris, the king of Spain thought proper to remove the uneasiness which the French ambassador might have, in consequence of the reports that had been spread at Madrid, of his Majesty's having made some secret disposition in favour of the Archduke. The Cardinal of Cordova, appointed commissioner to treat with the Marquis d'Harcourt, inserted these words at the end of a memorial, which he had occasion to send him, 'that it was not at all to be supposed that his Catholic Majesty thought so little of the welfare of his subjects, as, if he should happen to die without issue, not to leave matters duly settled for maintaining the general peace, according to justice.' The Cardinal added, that the ambassador might assure himself, and assure the King his master, that there was no resolution on the carpet, concerning the important article of the succession.

"The signing of the second treaty of Partition (May 13, 1700,) put an end to all kind of negotiation at Madrid, when the King, in compliance with the repeated solicitations of the Marquis d'Harcourt, consented his returning to France. Blécourt, an old officer of foot, who understood fighting much better than negotiating, was intrusted with what trifling business there might be hereafter occasion to transact at the Court of Spain.

"A little before the signing the treaty of Partition, it

was whispered about, that some secret dispositions had been made in favour of the Archduke. The common opinion was, that the King of Spain had appointed him his heir. The Marquis d'Harcourt, who was still at Madrid, insisted upon an explanation from Ubilla, secretary to the *despacho universal.* The secretary seemed to be embarrassed; this increased the ambassador's suspicions.

"The report concerning the Archduke gained ground, insomuch that even the principal nobility of the Court of Spain seemed not to know what to believe. Count Oropera, who was still in exile, desired the Marquis d'Harcourt to inform him of what he knew in regard of such a settlement; at the same time he assured him that it would be contrary to his opinion, being persuaded that the choosing a French prince, to succeed the present King, would be the only means of securing the happiness of Spain. These doubts were not yet cleared up, when the Marquis d'Harcourt, finding it of no service to his master to prolong his stay at Madrid, took his leave of the king and queen of Spain. He set out the 20th of May."

IV. Negotiations of Villars at Vienna.

After the peace of Ryswick the Marquis de Villars was appointed to represent France at the court of Vienna, with the title of Ambassador Extraordinary; but he did not set out for his post till some months after, viz. the end of June 1698. He had already been sent to the Emperor in the interval that elapsed between the peace of Nimeguen and the grand alliance, and had been very successful. But at first he met with a very cold reception from the ministers of the Emperor, who were as follow:—

The Prince of Dietrichstein, prime minister in virtue of his office of Grand Maître, was only nominally so, on account of his advanced years. He died soon after the arrival of the Marquis de Villars.

Count Kinsky, chancellor of Bohemia, the oldest councillor of state, was president of a council composed of Count Staremberg, minister of war; Count Kaunitz, vice-chancellor of the empire and invested with foreign affairs; Count Staremberg, minister of finance. Count Kinsky was in reality prime minister. The council met at his house, and he reported to the Emperor.

Soon after his arrival Prince Schwartzenberg, grand chamberlain of the Empress, made him some overtures for more intimate relations with the King on the Spanish succession. The Bishop of Passau did the same. But the instructions of the Marquis de Villars were to hear all, and undertake only to report to his royal master whatever should be confided to him. Some time afterwards Count Kinsky whispered to him, in the Emperor's chamber, "We should become better friends;" whereupon Villars said, "It will not be my fault"—"*Attendez*," was all that Kinsky rejoined; and this single expression was of more weight than all the vague overtures of Prince Schwartzenberg and the Bishop of Passau. The rumour of what was going on between France, England, and the United Provinces had reached the court of Vienna, and had strongly exasperated the ministers and the Emperor, who were very dissatisfied with the endeavour to form a treaty to partition all the states of the King of Spain after his death, without even communicating it to the court of Vienna. One day, in the imperial anti-chamber, Count Kinsky said to the Marquis de Villars, "Are not the Emperor and the King strong enough to do without protectors? the King of Spain is well; but if God should remove him, would not such mighty princes, or such near relatives, understand each

other?"—"These," replied Villars, "are the first overtures you make me. I have laid no great stress on those of some of your ministers, when he whom we know to be the chief kept silence. Your silence has induced the King my master to order me to be silent also." "The Emperor," replied Kinsky, "retains all his troops: he has 130,000 men. His generals and his armies have some fame. What European powers can trouble our masters if well united? Let them, then, consider their own interests, and not partition the monarchy of Spain to suit those of England and Holland." Meanwhile the Marquis de Villars had a very curious quarrel of etiquette. He happened to be present at a ball that took place in a quarter of the imperial palace, where lay the apartments of the Archduke to whom he had not yet been presented, when Prince Lichtenstein, the Archduke's tutor, came up to him, and said that it was very strange that without having seen the Archduke he should wish to be present at the fête, and requested him to withdraw. Villars complained of this proceeding, in strong terms, to Count Kinsky, who replied, "I am very sorry for what has happened; but it will not interfere with our dealing on the matter you know of."

At this time the news came of the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and soon afterwards Count Kinsky fell ill, and was cut off in a few days. The death of this minister, who alone, with the Marquis de Villars, had thought of a proposal of union between the houses of France and Austria, suspended this important negotiation.

Louis XIV. had given instructions to Villars to discuss with Count Kinsky the overtures that had been made to him, and to tell him that just grounds there were for not believing the Emperor to be so well disposed as his prime minister assured him to be; that France was informed of all the steps which the court of Vienna had

taken, immediately after the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, to renew a league against France, and to raise suspicion in the Protestant states. But, at the same time, to shew to England and Holland that the Emperor was not under his management, Louis XIV. commanded the Marquis de Villars to demand complete satisfaction. The fear of giving umbrage to the two powers with whom he was engaged in negotiating a second treaty of partition was not without foundation; for their ambassador at Vienna, M. Hop, had viewed with uneasiness the interviews Count Kinsky had had with Villars, and was trying to discover if no affair of importance was in hand between France and the house of Austria.

This despatch of Louis XIV. arrived after the death of Count Kinsky. The Emperor was truly desirous to satisfy Villars; but the difficulty was to agree upon the kind of satisfaction. In conformity with the etiquette of the house of Austria, the Emperor proposed to Villars that Count Kaunitz, vice-chancellor of the empire and minister of foreign affairs, should go to him from the Emperor, and bear witness to the imperial displeasure at what had occurred; doubtless a brilliant-enough kind of satisfaction; but they were unwilling to concede what Louis XIV demanded, viz. that the Prince of Lichtenstein should go to Villars in person; inasmuch as being the tutor of the Archduke, he never paid any visits, and never left the palace, but with the young prince, upon whom the duties of his office kept him constantly in attendance. Two months elapsed in negotiations on this grave matter, which would in all likelihood never have come to an end, if Louis XIV. had not ordered Villars to quit Vienna, unless within a fortnight Prince Lichtenstein gave the satisfaction demanded of him. The alternative was rupture or consent; but Prince Lichtenstein did not go till the last day of the period

that had been fixed, at the very moment Villars was stepping into his carriage.

As soon as this difference was adjusted, Count Kaunitz, minister of foreign affairs, resumed with the Marquis de Villars the overtures of Count Kinsky. Villars replied, as he was ordered, that "the King, his master, was truly desirous to adopt solid measures with the Emperor to avoid war in the event of the death of the king of Spain, and that he would regard with pleasure all the proposals which the ministers of the Emperor would make for that purpose." The Emperor himself seized the opportunity of an audience to speak to the Marquis de Villars to the same tenor. Count d'Harrach, who on his return from Spain had been appointed grand chamberlain, and who, since the death of Count Kinsky, had been in some measure prime minister, also indicated a desire to treat with Villars on the Spanish succession; but as the latter confined himself to politely meeting these advances without declaring the intentions of his master, the cabinet of Vienna resolved to explain itself more than it had hitherto done.

Count Kaunitz said to the Marquis de Villars, "You must be surprised that for twelve days I have not conversed with you on our grand affair. I will tell you what took place the first time I discussed this matter with his Imperial Majesty. He appeared to me, both from the pleasure I saw in his eyes and from his language, to be pleased at being able to come to an understanding with the King, and said to me, 'Think of this, and let me know your opinion as soon as possible.' When I spoke to him the second time about it, he said to me, 'I have declared my views to Count d'Harrach; therefore consult together.' This is what we shall do, and the Emperor has assured us that we two alone shall enjoy his confidence in this important negotiation. This is what I must tell you, not as minister, but in my private capacity; but I implore you

not to let delays give you any uneasiness; for I have not the presumption to hope that these can be put an end to."

Here ended, for the moment, the overtures of the court of Vienna. Some time afterwards Count d'Harrach had a fresh conversation on the subject with the Marquis de Villars. "It is necessary," said he, "to establish a real and sincere union between the King of France and the Emperor, and scorn the views of those powers who, under the pretext of confirming the peace of Europe, are only anxious to effect its ruin by everlasting wars." As Villars had instructions to hear every thing without replying, and to say nothing but what induced others to speak, he maintained too, on this occasion, a silence which made Count d'Harrach cease his observations, and the minister brought the conversation to a close with these words, "You know more than you are willing to say, and it would be useless to speak further on the subject, which, however, would deserve a little more the serious meditations of the King, your master."

In another conversation Count d'Harrach left no stone unturned to prove to the Marquis de Villars, that England and Holland thought of nothing but their own interests; that the proposed partition suited only those two powers, and that the only course of splendour and utility was that which should for ever, and without a shadow of distrust for the future, unite the two most powerful princes of Europe. The rumour, in fact, of the approaching conclusion of the treaty of Partition, which was negotiating between France, England, and Holland, had reached Vienna. Louis XIV. did not delay notifying it to the Marquis de Villars, and intimated that M. Hop would, at no distant period, be instructed to communicate it to the Emperor. When he had executed this delicate commission, the Emperor shewed himself very hostile to all proposals for the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy, and declared that he would enter into

no accommodation with the three contracting powers on this article. This communication did not take the court of Vienna altogether by surprise; for it had been vaguely informed of these negotiations, and, shortly after the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, M. Hop had been instructed to declare to the Emperor from the King of England and the States General, that these two powers would not find it conducive either to the welfare of Europe, or to their own interests, to engage in a fresh war for the interests of the Emperor, notwithstanding the secret article of the grand alliance, which bound them so to act; and that, in short, to establish the general tranquillity, it was necessary not to leave all the states of the Spanish crown united either in the house of Austria or that of France.

Meanwhile the negotiation of the second treaty of Partition was advancing; and a short time after the Marquis de Cavales, ambassador of Spain at St. James's, had been expelled from London, on account of his rude protestation against the negotiations for the partition of the succession, the Spanish ambassador had an audience of the Emperor to complain strongly of the negotiation at Loo. The Emperor replied that he would have nothing to do with what had been negotiated at Loo, and that he would never consent to the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy.

At last, in a despatch dated 6 May (1700), Louis XIV. informed his minister at Vienna of the conclusion of the second treaty of Partition, and of his reasons for treating with England and Holland in preference to lending an ear to the vague propositions that had been made to him by the ministers of the Emperor. These reasons were grounded on the just distrust which he must have felt at the vast designs of the Emperor, based on the confidence he reposed in the allies who had aided him in maintaining the last war, and on the hopes with which his ambassador

at Madrid inspired him; that the overtures of the ministers of the court of Vienna could not be sincere; that they had only the tendency to separate him from England and Holland; and that the Emperor counted too surely on inheriting the undivided monarchy of Spain for there being any security in treating with him. On the contrary, the measures he had just adopted with England and Holland should be regarded as infinitely more substantial for preserving the tranquillity of Europe; these two powers being equally alarmed, both at the renewal of war, and lest the crown of Spain should fall undivided on the head either of the king or the Emperor.

The same despatch of Louis XIV. at great length informed the Marquis de Villars of what had passed between M. de Torcy and Count Zinzendorf, after the treaty had been communicated to the latter. The ambassador of the Emperor, on reading the treaty with M. de Torcy, had made several observations on the changes that might be made in it, especially in reference to the Milanese; and the minister of Louis XIV. had replied, that if the Count Zinzendorf made any propositions on the part of the Emperor, the King would get them examined in concert with the ministers of England and Holland.

The Emperor's greatest difficulty, with regard to the treaty of Partition, related to the Milanese, which was to be given to the Duke of Lorraine, in exchange for the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar. "There was every reason to hope," said the despatch of Louis XIV., "that the Emperor would be satisfied at seeing the Milanese in the hands of a relative whom he had brought up, and who had so large a share of his affection." Villars had instructions to declare that though the king would not allow any kind of alteration to be made in the treaty of partition, still he was bound to listen to the proposals which the ministers of the Emperor might make. If they consisted in offering to the King

some portion of the Indies or some provinces of the Low Countries, Villars was to reject them. If, however, they offered Luxembourg and the kingdom of Navarre, the King reserved to himself the right of examining if these proposals suited him, leaving the Milanese united to the crown of Spain. Finally, if the Emperor, renouncing his claims to the Milanese, demanded that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily should not be separated from the Spanish monarchy, the Marquis de Villars had instructions to hear the proposals that might be made for preserving these kingdoms for the Archduke as King of Spain. Villars was ordered to notify, with all diligence, these various proposals to the King, and to keep them from the knowledge of the ambassador of the King of England and the States General, Louis XIV. wishing to communicate them directly to these two powers.

As the Emperor might get rid of all thoughts of acceding to the treaty of Partition, or of treating separately with Louis XIV., in the hope that Spain would give herself up wholly to him, as he counted upon, the King informed Villars that the Queen of Spain was quite at variance with Count d' Harrach, ambassador of the Emperor at the court of Madrid (son of the prime minister); and hence that this prince could not expect that his hopes in this quarter would be realised.

Villars was instructed to notify the treaty to the Emperor, of which indeed the court of Vienna had cognizance, as soon as it had been signed. In an audience of the 18th May, he made the following speech to the Emperor, in the very terms prescribed by the despatch of Louis XIV.: —

" Sire,

En m'acquittant des ordres dont le Roi mon maître me fait l'honneur de me charger par ses dernières lettres, je prendrai la liberté d'assurer votre M. I. que j'en ai tou-

jours eu de très précis de lui faire connaître encore plus par ma conduite que par mes discours, combien sincèrement il désire d'entretenir toujours avec elle une parfaite intelligence. Le Roi mon maître a été bien aise de lui en donner des marques, aussi bien dans les occasions moins importantes, que dans celles où il a été question de faciliter un traité entre vos Majestés.

" Cette union a paru toujours essentielle au bien de la Chrétienté; ainsi le Roi ne peut regarder sans peine les évènements capables d'en troubler le repos.

" Votre Majesté a su que le Roi, souhaitant prévenir tant des malheurs, acceptait les propositions faites l'année dernière par le Roi d'Angleterre et par les Etats Généraux, pour empêcher, si Dieu disposait du Roi d'Espagne, que la mort de ce Prince, dont la santé fait tout craindre depuis plusieurs années, ne produisît de nouvelles guerres.

" Le roi aurait appris avec un plaisir sensible que V. M. I. également touchée et des avantages offerts à Monseigneur l'Archiduc par ce projet, et du nouveau trouble où tous les états se verraient exposés si elle refuse d'y souscrire, eut accepté des conditions si raisonnables.

" Elles ont paru au Roi mon maître si propres à maintenir la tranquillité générale, qu'il a pris enfin la résolution de conclure avec le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et Messieurs les Etats un traité conforme à ces mêmes propositions. Le Roi m'a ordonné d'en faire part à V. M. I. si elle veut y entrer, rien ne manquera plus aux mesures prises pour la conservation de la paix.

" L'ouverture de la succession d'Espagne est justement regardée comme la source d'une longue guerre; mais il n'y aura point de sang versé, si cette querelle est terminée par un juste partage. Il n'y aura plus de dispute, et les peuples soumis présentement à la domination d'Espagne reconnaîtront de nouveaux souverains, sans que ce change-

ment attire des suites funestes qu'il serait impossible d'éviter si les armes décident de la succession de tant d'états.

" Le Roi ne peut croire que la prudence et la piété de V. M. I. permettent qu'elle préfère les évènements incertains d'une guerre, et les malheurs qui en sont inséparables à des propositions si justes, surtout lorsqu'elle voit que pour épargner ces malheurs à la Chrétienté, le Roi veut bien se désister de soutenir des droits justes et légitimes, et ne pas employer pour cet effet des forces qu'il peut faire agir toutes les fois que la nécessité le demandera.

" Enfin, Sire, je prendrai la liberté de réprésenter à V. M. I. que de pareilles résolutions n'admettent point de grands délais, qu'elles doivent être prises promptement, et qu'il est nécessaire de faire voir que l'en tenterait vainement de s'y opposer. Le Roi attend incessamment une réponse, et m'ordonne de renvoyer le courier qu'il m'a dépêché peu de jours après que j'aurai eu l'honneur d'informer V. M. I., des ordres qu'il m'a apportés.

" Voila, Sire, la copie du traité que j'aurai l'honneur de remettre à V. M. I., ou à celui de ses ministres qu'elle aura pour agréable de me nommer."

The Emperor appeared taken aback at this speech. " His reply," wrote Villiers to Louis XIV., " was, in general terms: that he had the intention of always maintaining a perfect understanding with your Majesty, that he recollected all the proposals and discussions that had been going on for a year, between the Dutch minister and his own; that he thought he had displayed his moderation in what had occurred; and that he would examine the treaty which your Majesty ordered me to communicate to him. At the conclusion of my speech, which went to urge an immediate decision, the Emperor said that a matter so important required long consultations; but that he would see what could be said to me before the de-

parture of my courier; and ordered me to transmit the treaty to Count Kaunitz."

On leaving the Emperor Villars took the treaty to the minister, and forthwith repaired to Count Harrach.º "I spoke," the despatch goes on to say, "to Count Harrach, who seemed considerably moved, and complained strongly of his master's allies. 'Voilà,' said he, 'vos bons amis, mais est-ce que l'on donne le bien des gens?' He then spoke of various points in the treaty, saying: 'Je vous l'avais déjà bien fait observer, Monsieur, que l'Angleterre et la Hollande ne songeaient qu'à leurs intérêts. Ces puissances nous donnent une portion de la monarchie d'Espagne, qui ne peut se soutenir. Que faire de la Flandre? Comment conserver les Indes sans armée navale? Il faudra donc que M. l'Archiduc soit toujours à la merci du Roi pour l'Espagne, et dans le dependance de l'Angleterre et de la Hollande, pour les Indes.' 'Monsieur,' I replied, 'si vous considérez la portion de la monarchie d'Espagne qui est destinée à M. l'Archiduc par l'usage qu'en font les Espagnols, et que nous jugions de même de celle qui nous regarde, vous m'avouerez que la notre est la plus mediocre. Vous savez, Monsieur, que les royaumes de Naples et de Sicile sont engagés de manière que le Roi d'Espagne n'en retire presque rien. Mais lorsqu'un prince aussi bien élevé que l'est M. l'Archiduc, et qui dans un age peu avancé donne déjà de si grandes espérances, sera le maître absolu, vous trouverez alors, Monsieur, que l'empire des Indes et les Espagnes bien gouvernées font un état très puissant. Je sais ce que l'on tire actuellement des deux Castilles, et la misère du gouvernement actuel d'Espagne fait, pour ainsi dire, fondre tout l'or des Indes entre les mains des Espagnols. Il ne faut qu'un prince un peu éclairé pour relever une puissance plus accablé de son propre poids et par l'ignorance de ses ministres, que de sa faiblesse naturelle.' In short, Sire, after a few regrets and

complaints at having been abandoned by the allies, whom the empire had alone upheld on the eve of their total ruin, Count Harrach came to regret not having treated direct with me. 'N'etait-il pas plus raisonnable,' said he, 'que des princes, si proches parents, et si remplis de religion et d'équité, convinssent entre eux?' 'Il est aisé de vous repondre sur cela,' I replied, 'et vous trouverez bon que je vous explique la conduite de sa Majesté. A peine la paix de Ryswick fut-elle conclue, que le Roi nommat Messieurs de Tallard, d'Harcourt et moi pour aller auprès de l'Empereur, du Roi Espagne, et du Roi d'Angleterre. Je serais parti en même temps que les deux premiers, si la mort de mon père qui survint alors ne m'eut fait supplier le Roi de m'accorder quelques mois.' (I thought, Sire, I might use this argument, though, as your Majesty is aware, that did not prevent me.) 'J'arrivai ici il y a deux ans, et vous savez, Monsieur le Comte, que l'Empereur n'a eu personne auprès du Roi que plus de quinze mois après. Je trouvai en arrivant une si grande froideur à Vienne, et si differente des manières que l'on avait pour moi à mon premier voyage, que je ne pus m'empêcher d'en marquer mon étonnement à M. le Comte de Kaunitz, et de lui en porter de justes plaintes. En effet je demeurai un mois entier, sans que personne mit les pieds chez moi. Quelques uns même de mes anciens amis, qui avaient envoyé me demander heure pour y venir, s'en excusèrent. Vous savez vous-même, Monsieur, que les principales personnes d'entre vous ne m'ont invité chez eux, qu'après m'avoir fait l'honneur de venir manger chez moi, et honteux, pour ainsi dire, de ne pas faire les honneurs de leur cour à un étranger. De sorte que si j'ai reçu des honnêtetés dans la suite, j'ose dire que ce n'a été qu'après me les être attirées. Le feu Comte de Kinski et plusieurs autres ne sont jamais venus chez moi. Des traitements si differents de ceux que l'on faisait autrefois

aux envoyés du Roi, et dont je ne pouvais me dispenser d'informer son Majesté, commencèrent à le persuader combien elle avait peu à compter sur la bonne volonté de cette cour. L'affaire qui m'arriva chez M. l'Archiduc, acheva de l'en convaincre. Rappelez-vous, Monsieur, par quelles lenteurs et par quelles difficultés je passai, avant que d'obtenir les justes satisfactions demandées par le Roi. Encore, ne furent-elles accordées que par la crainte de rompre un commerce qui vous mettait à la merci de l'Angleterre et de la Hollande, n'ayant plus aucune voie de traiter directement avec son Majesté à toute cette conduite, pouvait-on croire que l'Empereur eut un désir bien sincère de se lier d'interét avec le Roi? Je crois même pouvoir vous dire que l'on n'en a fait les premières propositions que lorsqu'on me vit sur le point de quitter votre cour par le refus de la satisfaction que le Roi demandait.' Hereupon Count Harrach interrupted me, and said, 'Monsieur, si d'abord on n'a point eu de conférence avec vous, c'est premièrement, parce que l'Empereur a toujours cru être le seul et veritable héritier de la monarchie d'Espagne; en second lieu, c'est qu'avant votre arrivée ici, le Roi était déjà convenu avec le Roi d'Angleterre et les Hollandais sur le Prince Electoral de Bavière.' 'Non, Monsieur,' replied I, 'je crois pouvoir vous assurer qu'il n'y avait rien de règle avant mon arrivée. Que si depuis le Roi a consenti à quelque chose en faveur du Prince Electoral, la même modération paraissait toujours, et ce prince étant mort, vous deviez montrer plus d'ardeur que d'éloignement à traiter avec sa Majesté.' 'Mais quoi n'y a-t-il donc plus à negocier,' replied Count Harrach, 'et tout est-il fini?' 'Vous voyez,' said I, 'un traité conclu.' 'Pour ce traité nous ne pouvons y consentir,' replied the Count. 'Le Roi,' said I, 'm'ordonne de renvoyer mon courrier dans huit jours au plus tard. Il souhaite passionnement que ces conditions, où sa modération

parait toute entière, soient au gré de l'Empereur. Pour moi, Monsieur, je verrai dans l'intervalle qui m'est fixé ce que vous me ferer l'honneur de me dire, et j'en rendrai un compte fidèle à sa Majesté.' Such, Sire, is a summary of the first conversation between Count Harrach and me.

" Hereupon I repaired to Count Kaunitz, whom I found very reserved, silent, and surprised. As he only made very brief replies, I entered less at length with him than with Count Harrach. But after having listened to me some time, he said, ' Voilà ce que Messieurs de Boufflers et de Portland avaient negocié avant la paix.' I assured him to the contrary, and he then added, ' Il y a quelqu'un là haut' (pointing to heaven) ' qui travaillera à ces partages.' ' Ce quelqu'un," replied I, ' en approuvera la justice.' ' Cela est pourtant nouveau,' said he, ' que le Roi d'Angleterre et la Hollande partagent la monarchie d'Espagne. Et ce tiers dont vous nous menacez, où est-il? Je ne le connais pas. Quoi les Hollandais donneront des royaumes.' As he inveighed bitterly against the king of England and the States-general, I said to him, ' Monsieur le Comte, trouvez bon que je les excuse auprès de vous. Ces deux puissances viennent tout recemment de soutenir une guerre qui leur a couté beaucoup, et rien à l'Empereur: car enfin vous n'avez fait de dépense que contre les Turcs; vous aviez quelques troupes en Italie, et deux seuls régiments de Hussards dans l'empire qui n'étaient point à sa solde. L'Angleterre et la Hollande ont donc soutenu seules tout le fardeau. Croyez-vous ces deux nations bien empressées à s'engager dans une nouvelle guerre pour vos seuls intérêts, quand le Roi marque par sa modération qu'il ne desire que le bien et la tranquillité de l'Europe?' I handed him the treaty, and thus ended our interview, of which I have given the substance.

" Next day Count Harrach asked me to dinner. He drank to the prosperous union of your Majesty and the

Emperor. He is naturally very polite, and that day he appeared to be still more so. After our repast he said to me, 'Voilà le traité que M. Hop à remis à l'Empereur. Vous voulez bien que je vous fasse voir qu'entre autres choses il y en a deux insoutenables, sur les articles IV et IX, quoi, obliger l'Empereur de priver ses successeurs de la reversion légitime de leur bien! Et si le malheur voulait,' he went on, 'qu'il ne restât qu'un seul prince de toute la maison d'Autriche, l'Empereur pourrait-il consentir à le priver de toute la succession d'Espagne? Il faut donc faire la guerre, et tout risquer. D'ailleurs le Milanez est un fief de l'empire. Depuis quand le Roi d'Angleterre et les Hollandais veulent-ils être Empereurs? Car c'est à l'Empereur à disposer de ce fief, comme Charles quint en avait disposé pour son fils.' 'Si la seule difficulté était de le donner,' I replied, 'pourvu que l'Empereur ne le donnât pas à son fils, ou que, pour mieux dire, il le donnât conformement aux articles du traité, cela n'arrêterait peut-être pas. Mais je ne suis point surpris que des puissances occupées à conserver l'égalité, seul fondement du repos public, ne consentent pas qu'un Empereur dont les dernières conquêtes augmentent considérablement la puissance, y puisse joindre les Indes, les Espagnes, et la Flandre.'—'Monsieur,' replied Count Harrach, 'tout cela n'est rien, car nous ne pouvons pas le soutenir. Nous parlons ici comme honnêtes gens, et pour moi je le fais sans aucun ordre de l'Empereur. Mais prenez la portion que vous offrez à M. l'Archiduc, et laissez-nous le reste.' To this I replied, 'Je ne me charge, Monsieur, que demander ce que vous me direz: après la conclusion d'un traité, vous jugez bien que mon pouvoir se borne là.' Count Harrach concluded by saying a second time, 'Monsieur, je parle de moi-même.' Such is a faithful account of our second conversation."

Meanwhile, the court of Vienna had really the design

of forming an alliance of interest with Louis XIV. Counts Harrach and Kaunitz left no means untried to convince Villars that nothing was less their object than to trifle with him.

In a conversation with the former, he was told "that the memorial of what should be said to him was already made; but that the illness of Count Kaunitz prevented his being present for some days at the reading of it; that Count Harrach was unwilling to act alone, for in so important a matter he would not incur the risk of taking upon himself either the interpretations or the replies." To this Villars said, in reply, "that since two such able ministers took the precaution not to negotiate separately, he assured them beforehand that he would not do less; that he would transmit the memorial, and would in their presence write what he thought might be added to it."

A few days afterwards Counts Harrach and Kaunitz read two memorials to the Marquis de Villars; one of which he was at liberty to communicate to M. Hop; but they requested that the King his master should alone have cognizance of the other.

The first contained the Emperor's complaints, that, in the first place, during the lifetime of his Catholic Majesty, a treaty of Partition of the Spanish Monarchy had been made, notwithstanding all the considerations which were due to this prince, and to the heirs of this great kingdom; and secondly, that in the treaty neither equality nor propriety had been observed, inasmuch as this condition, injurious to the Emperor, was found in it, that if he did not accept the present treaty within three months, he, the heir in chief of this monarchy, should have no share of it when the succession should be vacant; that, moreover, it was nothing but right that the Emperor should confer with the king of Spain on these matters, but that he would do nothing till after the return of a courier whom he should

send to Spain,—loyalty, honour and courtesy alike requiring that they should at least know what the King of Spain thought about the partition of his property.

With regard to the second memorial, it contained, in the first place, the surprise the Emperor felt at the King having wished to treat of the succession of Spain with powers who had no right to any portion of it, the King and the Emperor alone being the heirs. In the second place, it set forth that union being entirely re-established between these two princes, who were alone interested in the succession, the Emperor had no other desire but to come to a direct understanding with the King, without any interference of self-constituted mediators; finally, that, as the Emperor had three months to make up his mind, they should be employed in treating together, the King being at liberty either to invest the Marquis de Villars with full powers, or to consent to the Emperor's sending them to Count Zinzendorf. If the King would make a treaty with the Emperor, the treaty of partition might be left as it was, and others might be made to remain secret till the moment of its execution. Meanwhile the Emperor would accept formally the treaty concluded at the Hague, while they were secretly negotiating a new arrangement. The reading of these memorials not being followed up by any overtures, the Marquis de Villars evinced his astonishment, and said to Counts Harrach and Kaunitz, "That the King his master, to whom he had already communicated the first words of Count Harrach, was greatly surprised that these memorials contained nothing but such general proposals." To this the ministers replied, "Avez-vous des pouvoirs pour traiter? Dans les préliminaires on ne s'explique pas fort amplement, et même ce serait en vain." "Mais," replied the Marquis de Villars, "vous ne dites rien sur le traité." Count Harrach replied: "Quand le Roi donne trois mois, c'est

pour traiter. Autrement il n'y aurait qu'à dire oui ou non, à la fin du temps marqué. Voulez-vous," he added, "que l'on vous en dise davantage? L'Empereur n'admettra jamais le point de la succession, puisque si Dieu lui enlevait l'un de ses deux princes, jamais S. M. I. ne pourrait consentir à voir sortir de sa maison la monarchie entière. Elle hasardera tout plutôt que de se relâcher sur ce point, et elle ne désespère pas de trouver des amis. Enfin elle ne pourra se résoudre à abandonner le Milanez, mais elle cédera volontiers toutes les Indes." "Quelle proposition!" replied the Marquis de Villars: "les premières de M. le Comte d'Harrach étaient de donner la portion entière de M. l'Archiduc. Vos dernières paroles sont si éloignées des premières, que je ne me chargerai jamais d'en informer le Roi, et l'on peut les lui faire savoir par le comte de Zinzendorf." Count Kaunitz, here interrupting him, said: "Mais, Monsieur, dites-nous quelque chose. Je n'ai jamais pensé que l'empire des Indes, offert d'abord, fût un petit objet en échange des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile. Si d'ailleurs le Roi a tant d'envie de la Lorraine, l'Empereur se chargera d'accommoder M. le Duc de Lorraine." The Marquis de Villars thereupon showed that the King his master only wished for Lorraine in order to terminate the proceedings, as the position of this petty state could never cause any uneasiness; that its revenues were small during both peace and war; that, in short, whether its ruler were in the interest of the King or not, his country could not be exempt from harbouring troops and providing winter-quarters.

As the ministers of the Emperor came to no positive conclusion, the Marquis begged them to do so. To this they replied, that if the King wished to treat at Vienna, he had only to send powers to the Marquis de Villars; but if, on the other hand, he wished to treat with Count Zinzendorf, powers should be sent to the latter as soon

as his Majesty's wishes were ascertained; that the shortest way would be to treat at Vienna. In reply, Villars said, that to hasten on a negotiation both parties should be desirous for it; that for three and twenty days he had awaited a reply, with which, he was compelled to say, he was not satisfied; — which made him desirous not to be charged with this negotiation; in the first place, because the King his master would be better served by the ministers that were about him than by himself; in the second place, because having looked for more overtures he would find them much less than he had ground to expect; that hence the King's interests would induce him to represent to him the necessity of seeing so important a matter decided under his own eyes. This reply was made with the greatest coolness imaginable.

" Mais ne voit-on pas chez vous," said Counts Harrach and Kaunitz, " que l'intérêt de Dieu et celui de nos maîtres veut qu'ils soient unis? Et quel fond la France peut-elle faire sur des puissances qui, après avoir été liées à l'Empereur par des traités, lui manquent néanmoins si ouvertement? Attendez-vous à la même conduite de leur part à la première occasion. Quelque faible que soit la santé du Roi d'Espagne, on peut espérer encore qu'elle ira plus loin que celle du Roi Guillaume. En ce cas le Roi aurait la gloire de rétablir la religion et le Roi d'Angleterre dans ses royaumes. On peut traiter secrètement, et paraître entrer dans le traité de partage, et le Roi d'Espagne mort, chacun pourrait prendre les portions qui conviendraient le mieux au Roi et à l'Empereur. On ne peut convenir que nous ne soyons les maîtres de l'exécution."

Both ministers added that all Italy would reluctantly see the king of France in possession of states which might open to him an easy conquest of all the rest. To this Villars made the very natural reply, that Italy would be

still more in dread of the Emperor, whose rights, real or imagined, would subject her entirely. Count Kaunitz rejoined in these words: "Les droits de Charlemagne, quoiqûe très anciens, seront mieux soutenus par la France que les nôtres, sans contredit meilleurs et plus modernes; et l'on verrait bientôt le Pape à Avignon, si les royaumes de Naples et de Sicile appartenaient à un de vos princes." Villars said in reply: "Le Pape, Rome et toute l'Italie se croiront plus tranquilles, le Milanez étant possédé par un prince particulier, que quand ils voient l'Empereur les environner de toutes parts; c'est le sentiment de Rome entière; la république de Venise aimera mieux M. de Lorraine à Milan que tout autre." — "Mais quand vous aurez Naples et la Sicile," replied both the ministers, "quelle sera leur ressource pour se défendre d'être entièrement dans votre dépendance, avec toutes vos forces maritimes, capables d'asservir ou d'intimider toute la Méditerranée?" With these words ended the conference.

Villars received a dispatch from Louis XIV. dated June 16th 1700. It indicated a decided opinion that the Emperor was not acting in good faith towards his Majesty; that the proposals to treat directly proceeded from the secret intention of withdrawing the King from the measures he had taken in concert with the King of England and with Holland, rather than from a sincere desire to divide the Spanish monarchy with the King; that the Emperor's view was to profit of the resolution that he supposed had been taken by the King of Spain, to nominate the Arch-duke his sole heir, and that he meditated attaching to his interests the Duke of Savoy, whose powers were necessary to facilitate the execution of this design. This was so much the more probable, as might have been corroborated by Villars; for the minister of this prince at Vienna held frequent conferences with those of the Emperor. He had also several interviews

with Villars and M. Hop, and it was easy to see that, faithful to the policy of his family, the Duke of Savoy was seeking to give himself up to whosoever should bring him the greatest advantage. The delays of the imperial ministers, as the dispatch of Louis XIV. went on to say, who were always putting off full explanations, still further increased the King's suspicions, and strengthened him in his intention to hold by the treaty of Partition.

The truth is, he had never supposed that the Emperor had a sincere desire to share with him the monarchy of Spain, and as the Emperor thought the same thing of the King, each had begun by adopting measures quite opposed to this apparent design. The emperor was persuaded that the king of England and the States-general would enter more eagerly into his interests; and Louis XIV. thought to accomplish much in severing a league that had caused a long and cruel war. It was with this view that he had concluded the peace of Ryswick; and the first instructions that had been given to Villars were to inspire the various German princes, whose ministers were at Vienna, with the idea that their interest should consist solely in a dread of the Emperor's power being too great, while the death of the king of Spain might augment it still more, in the event of his succeeding him. Nevertheless the Emperor was anxious to ally himself to France, more eagerly and sincerely than Louis XIV. could be convinced of.

The ambassador of the States-general, M. Hop, confided to the Marquis de Villars what little satisfaction he had in the silence and coldness of the imperial ministers. He did not know that there was an understanding between them and Villars. It was chiefly against the King of England and the States-general, that the Court of Vienna was exasperated. M. Hop having urged Count Harrach to explain precisely what were the Emperor's

intentions, this minister coldly, and even with hauteur, replied, "At the end of three months the Emperor will make known his intentions."

A courier from Madrid at last made known what had been the sentiments of the King of Spain at the news of the conclusion of the second treaty of Partition.

The ministers of the Emperor only told Villars that this prince had heard it with great firmness; that in a few lines which he wrote to the Emperor with his own hand he informed him that all the grandees of his kingdom had manifested their indignation at such a treaty, and that to a man they had assured him that to prevent its execution they were ready to sacrifice their life and property.

Prince Schwartzenberg, who was apprised of the conferences held between Villars and the Imperial ministers, and whose favour with the Empress gave him a high standing, said to the Marquis de Villars, "Souvenez-vous, Monsieur, des premiers discours que je vous ai tenus? Gens plus considérables que moi vous ont parlé; mais je vous repète que rien ne sera si avantageux à nos maîtres qu'une bonne intelligence et un partage concerté eutre eux; car pour celui qui est reglé par le traité, jamais il n'aura rien."

But the Emperor complained strongly of the conduct of the King of England and the States-general, while his ministers were busy in attempting to convince Villars that the only interest of their masters' was a close alliance between them. The reasons they assigned were, that King William had no reputation in England; that he stood ill with Parliament; that his health was no less dangerously undermined than that of the King of Spain; that in short, Europe was not in a condition to offer any opposition to the rightful partition which the King of France and the Emperor might make. In a word, these

ministers did not omit any arguments, specious or substantial, which could shake the Court of France. Nevertheless, Villars gave the assurance that Louis XIV. would adhere strictly to the treaty concluded with King William and the States-general.

Meanwhile, M. Hop received instructions to urge on the Court of Vienna, and to represent that the opportunity was precious, and that if the Emperor chose to lose it, his masters were resolved not to do the same. But these importunities gained from the imperial ministers nothing but cold and ambiguous answers. They confined themselves to saying that they would await news from Spain, without which the Emperor could not take any part.

At the same time the minister of the Emperor in France made great endeavours to change the ninth article of the treaty of Partition, which contained the choice of a third party, in the case where the Emperor would not accept of the share marked out for the Archduke. Louis XIV., after communicating the proposals of change to the King of England and the Pensionary Heinsius, notified to the Marquis de Villars, that if the Emperor would declare that he would insist upon no other change except in this article, they might take it in hand, and give him this satisfaction; but they must first be sure that no other difficulty would be started.

At length, in the month of August, the ministers of the Emperor learned that the members of the Council of State in Spain had been, with one exception, of opinion that the King of Spain should declare as his successor the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin. Nothing was better calculated than this intelligence to bring the imperial ministers to an explanation; yet they told Villars that this news caused them no uneasiness; for if the King of France refused the offers made to him by the Court of Madrid, he was obliged to adhere to the treaty of partition,

which was far less advantageous than that which he might make with the Emperor: that, on the other hand, if he were to accept them, England and Holland would unite more strongly than ever with the Emperor. The reply of Villars was in these terms: —

"Si le Roi refuse les offres de l'Espagne, vous n'avez rien de meilleur à faire que de souscrire au traité de partage; et si le Roi accepte la monarchie entière pour un des fils de Monseigneur, nous n'aurons pas beaucoup de mal à craindre de toutes les puissances qui n'ont pu nous nuire lorsqu'elles faisaient agir tant d'états qui seront pour nous, et assurement mieux gouvernés quand ils voudront faire usage de la sagesse et des conseils d'un Roi qui ne leur en donnera que pour les conserver tranquilles et unis sous un même maître. Ainsi, après un mûr examen, vous trouverez que rien ne vous convient mieux que d'entrer dans le traité, puisque vous voyez quelque espérance de changement dans l'article qui vous ferait le plus de peine."

If the news from Spain were such as to urge the court of Vienna to come to a conclusion, on the other hand the Ambassador of Spain gave hopes of a will in favour of the Archduke. This again kept back the imperial ministers, who said to Villars that they awaited the return of a courier from Spain, after whose arrival they would speak to him more positively. From that period the conferences with the Emperor became more frequent; but the ministers, while they declared without hesitation that the Emperor would never subscribe to the treaty, gave no official reply. In the meanwhile the period of three months expired on the 18th of August, and a determination must be come to either to enter into the treaty of partition or to refuse. It was not till the very day of the expiration of the period, that Count Harrach gave Villars the reply of the Emperor, which was to this effect: — "That the Emperor, seeing the King of Spain removed from the near dangers which were

promulgated without foundation, being moreover his uncle and his nearest heir, thought he should be wanting in all the rules of courtesy, if, during the life of this prince, and while he might have children, he should lend an ear to the partition of the succession; that he hoped that the King of France would not take this determination amiss; that, however, in the event of the opening of the succession, he would enter with pleasure into any arrangements for maintaining the good understanding he always wished to keep with his Majesty; that as for the nomination of a third party, he did not think that it could be done, or that the King of France wished it, inasmuch as they could not dispose of the states of the King of Spain during his lifetime; that if, nevertheless, they were resolved to nominate this third party previous to his death, he was prepared to adopt all measures to prevent him from entering into possession."

V. WILL OF CHARLES II. IN FAVOUR OF THE DUKE OF ANJOU.

[1. — *Extract from the Memoirs of Torcy.*]

"Harcourt was setting out for his journey, when the King acquainted the Emperor with the treaty of Partition, inviting him to accede to it. His Majesty ordered it to be communicated to the Spanish ambassador, with the same invitation to the King his master. All the answer he desired Blécourt to make, if they should speak to him about it at Madrid, was, that the Spaniards ought not to be surprised at his having taken the necessary precautions for preventing the injustice which threatened the lawful heirs of the King of Spain, and for maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, especially as his Catholic Majesty had not shown, since the peace, the least disposition, either in

favour of the Dauphin or of his children; but that all his views, on the contrary, were directed either towards the late electoral Prince of Bavaria, or the Archduke.

"Blécourt acquainted the King with the different effects which the news of the second treaty of Partition produced at Madrid. He wrote word that the Queen, transported with passion, had expressed the extreme agitation of her mind, at the expence of the furniture of her apartment; that the council was assembled the next day; that expresses had been despatched to the Almirante, and to Counts Oropera and Monterey, all three at that time in exile, to ask their opinions on so important a conjuncture; that the people were grieved and sorely afraid of falling under the German yoke; that the Arragonians said, in case his present Majesty should happen to die, they would choose such a successor as suited the kingdom of Arragon. The people in general confessed that the King of France had justly concerted his measures, and acted prudently in setting a treaty of Partition on foot; but the general odium fell upon the English and the Dutch. Count Harrach, unseasonably assuming the imperious swaggering style of the court of Vienna, gave out that his master would sooner lose the imperial crown than submit to the injustice done him; and that, whatever might be the consequence, he would be revenged.

"Cardinal Portocarrero, who had retired some months before on Toledo, received orders from the King his master to repair forthwith to Madrid. He obeyed; but so great was his concern upon seeing what he had so often predicted, that he declared he would not appear in council. He appeared there nevertheless, and they had warm debates; but being divided in their opinions, they broke up without coming to any conclusion.

"The kingdom was in a general confusion; and no hopes of relief. It was proposed to recall the exiled

members, and to form a petty council consisting only of four or five persons. The people of Madrid, far from murmuring against France, redoubled their wishes for a prince of that family. The members of the Council of State, excepting the old Count Aguilar, expressed themselves in the same style as the people. The Queen, still biassed in favour of the Emperor, notwithstanding the great reason she had to complain of that prince, begged the King her husband to suspend all sort of resolution, till he could have an answer from Vienna.

"This prince was silent; yet he consulted, both at home and abroad, those whose opinions were most likely to be agreeable to justice, to the good of his subjects, and of course to the tranquillity of his consience. He had already applied to different theologians and civilians in Spain and Naples, as well as to different bishops. He resolved also to take advice of the Bishop of Covença, a natural son of Philip IV., and Archbishop of Sarragossa. They were all unanimous, not one of them making the least doubt but the princes of the line of France were entitled to succeed him. But this was not sufficient to quiet the scruples of a monarch, who was just going to give an account of his conduct in the other world.

"Blécourt was informed that this prince had despatched a courier to Rome the preceding June; and that he waited for his return with great impatience. At Madrid they knew nothing of the motive for despatching this courier; but Louis XIV. learnt it of Cardinal Janson, who had the care of his Majesty's affairs at the court of Rome.

"Charles II., not satisfied with the opinions which he had taken in Spain, would likewise consult the head of the church. Cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, who was elected Pope by the name of Innocent XII. in the year 1692, still filled the Holy See. The King of Spain wrote to him with his own hand, and set before him the

danger to which the treaty of Partition exposed the Catholic religion, not in the least doubting but that the English and the Dutch were to have some share in the dismemberment of his monarchy. He complained most bitterly of a scheme being formed and agreed upon, while he was yet living, to parcel out his dominions. He represented to his Holiness the calamities and miseries in which such an enterprise must involve Europe; the wars which it would inevitably give rise to, and in particular the mischiefs which it portended to the Holy See. He concluded his letter with apprising his Holiness of the repeated instances with which he was solicited by the council of Spain to appoint one of the Dauphin's younger sons his heir, as the only means of preserving his subjects from the calamities they had reason to apprehend, whenever it should please God to call him out of this world. He asked the Pope's advice upon so important a point, as also his prayers, being fully resolved to sacrifice his own private will to the good and to the tranquillity of his kingdom.

"The letter was written the 8th of June, 1700, and directed to the Duke of Urida, the Spanish ambassador at Rome. King Charles wrote also to this minister with his own hand, and gave him orders privately to deliver the letter directed to the Pope, and of which he sent him a copy, to his Holiness in person, strictly charging him to keep it very secret. Urida disclosed it to Cardinal Janson, and the King was soon apprized of it.

"Upon an aair of such importance the Pope chose to have the opinion of some of the Cardinals; three of whom, distinguished by their virtue, capacity, and merit, were the persons he consulted. The first was Spada, who had been heretofore appointed Nuncio in France, and was afterwards Secretary of State; the second was Cardinal Albano, who succeeded a few months after to

Innocent XII., and took the name of Clement XI.; the third was Cardinal Spinola San-Cesareo. When the consultation was over, his Holiness answered the King of Spain, commending his piety and his zeal for religion, as well as for the good of his subjects, and concluding that he ought not to depart from the opinion of his Majesty's council, founded on the necessary principle of securing the union and entire preservation of his monarchy.

"The King of France having had certain advice of this whole transaction from Cardinal Janson, could no longer entertain any doubt of King Charles's intentions in favour of one of the princes of France. Yet his Majesty persisted in the resolution of adhering to the engagements he had entered into and renewed by the second treaty, notwithstanding any reason he might have to doubt of the sincerity of his allies, who by their delays, by their continual difficulties, and by their great repugnance to agree upon the necessary measures for executing the treaty, rendered themselves every day more suspected. The King likewise knew that the affection of the Spaniards for a prince of his family gained ground, and was no longer a secret. Cardinal Portocarrero gloried in his sentiments; he had agreed with Blécourt to acquaint him with every thing that might contribute to the success of an event big with such immense advantages to Spain. At that time very few had any notion of serving the Emperor; among these few were reckoned the Marquis de Leganez, and the Secretary Ubilla.

"Notwithstanding the alliance betwixt the United Provinces and France, the Dutch resident at Madrid [Schonenberg], who had been excluded from all public functions on account of a personal quarrel, had frequent conferences by night with Leganez in the streets of Madrid. There was no English minister then at the Court of Spain; so

that Blécourt was left alone to make head against the Emperor's ambassador.

"In the month of July Count Harrach offered the King of Spain twenty thousand Imperialists, to guard the duchy of Milan, the same number for Naples, and the same for Sicily,—empty promises, which it was impossible for his Court to perform. Indeed they were scarce listened to; and Count Harrach perceived that they were grown the subject of derision. He therefore changed his style; and to weaken the French party he propagated a report, as if Louis XIV. had declared, in express terms, that if the Spanish monarchy was offered to one of the princes his grandsons, his Majesty would refuse it. He further affirmed, that Blécourt had mentioned it, in positive terms, in consequence of the orders he had received from his Court.

"A speech of such a nature, though false, made, nevertheless, an impression on the mind of the King of Spain. He had promised Portocarrero to appoint a prince of the line of France to succeed him; and as the Cardinal pressed him to perform his word, he made answer, that his honour would suffer, should the king of France refuse to approve of his choice. At the same time he renewed his instances to the Emperor, not to listen to any proposal of a partition. Further, he gave orders to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, as well as to the governor of Milan, to receive a body of troops, which the Emperor proposed to send them. And yet the Spanish ambassador to the Court of France positively declared that the King his master had not nominated his successor.

"This contradiction in his Catholic Majesty's conduct, was owing to the incessant solicitations of the Queen of Spain. The King was now reduced so low by a train of inveterate disorders, as to be sensible of the approaches of death; yet during the whole month of August his health

seemed to be better than usual. Count Harrach, taking an advantage of his imbecility, made him promise that he would consult his council no more; and yet a few days afterwards this same prince told the Duke de Medina-Sidonia, that he would follow the advice of his council, and nominate a prince of France his successor to the crown; but that he could not resolve to invite him into Spain.

"After so open a declaration, the Duke de Medina-Sidonia pressed Blécourt more than ever to let him know whether the King would accept of the entire succession of the Spanish monarchy for one of the princes his grandsons, as there was no manner of reason to doubt of his Catholic Majesty's being ready to make such a disposition, as soon as he was sure it would not be rejected.

"Castel-dos-Rios, the Spanish ambassador in France, had orders to inform himself particularly in regard to the King's intentions.

"The Spaniards were all unanimous; the clergy, the Council of State, and the gentlemen of the long robe, all acknowledged the Dauphin's rights, and wished to see the crown of Spain settled on one of that prince's sons. At Madrid they were in hopes that the King of England would not perform his engagements. It was a blessing the whole nation longed for, and what the conduct of the Dutch resident gave room to expect; for his correspondence with the Marquis de Liganez continued, and he had frequent conferences with the Imperial ambassador, though he assured Blécourt of the contrary.

"Count Harrach was not at all discouraged; he still expected a change, and notwithstanding the reasons which the Queen had for being dissatisfied with his conduct, with his speeches, and with the accounts he sent to the Emperor, still he grounded his hopes not only on the credit but likewise on the sincerity of that princess. Accordingly

she obtained an order for the Council of State to assemble; and they were acquainted, by a message from the King, that the partiality they showed in favour of a French prince was displeasing to his Majesty. Notwithstanding this declaration, seven members of the Council were not deterred from giving a stronger confirmation of their former opinion in favour of a son of the Dauphin.

"The king of Spain was taken dangerously ill again towards the end of September; and finding himself at the point of death he received the last sacrament of the church. It was privately whispered, that he had confirmed the testamentary disposition in favour of the Archduke, appointed the Queen regent, and established a council.

"In the beginning of October people altered their sentiments. Blécourt wrote to the King, that it was rumoured at Madrid, as if one of the Dauphin's sons had been called to the crown of Spain; that Cardinal Portocarrero had steadily and effectually exerted his utmost endeavours for a prince of the line of France; and that he had hindered the King from executing a contrary will, extorted from him by the Queen."

[2.—*Extract from the Memoirs of Saint-Simon.*]

"Harcourt, à qui on voulait éviter de commettre son caractère à quelque chose peut-être de fâcheux, n'avait pas plus-tôt donné avis à Blécourt de son entrée en France, que cet envoyé du Roi alla faire à l'Escurial la déclaration du traité de partage au Roi d'Espagne. Le Conseil d'Espagne s'assembla souvent pour délibérer sur une déclaration si importante, qu'elle réveilla ceux quis le composaient de cet assoupissement profond qui, hors Madrid et ce qui s'y passe, rend les grands seigneurs Espagnols indifférents à tout le reste du monde. La première marque qu'il en donna fut de supplier le Roi d'Espagne de trouver

bon que, pour ménager sa santé, et n'entendre pas si souvent discuter des choses qui ne pouvaient que lui faire peine, il s'assemblât hors de sa présence aussi souvent qu'il le jugerait nécessaire pour lui rendre un compte abrégé des résolutions qu'il estimerait devoir être prises, et des ordres en conséquence à lui demander. . . . . .

"Villafranca fut un des premiers qui ouvrit les yeux au seul parti qu'ils avaient à prendre pour empêcher le démembrement de la monarchie, et se conserver par là toute leur grandeur particulière à eux-mêmes, en demeurant sujets d'un aussi grand Roi, qui, retenant toutes les parties de tant de vastes états, aurait à conférer les mêmes charges, les mêmes vice-royautés, les mêmes grâces. Il songea donc à faire tomber l'entière succession au deuxième fils du fils unique de la Reine, sœur du Roi d'Espagne. Il s'en ouvrit, comme en tatonnant, à Medina-Sidonia, quoiqu'il ne fut pas du conseil; mais pas sa charge et son esprit, en grande figure et en faveur, et avec qui il était en liaison particulière. Celui-ci qui le respectait, et qui le savait aussi Autrichien que lui-même, mais qui était gouverné par son intérêt, et qui par conséquent craignait sur toutes choses le démembrement de la monarchie, entra dans le sentiment de Villafranca, et l'y affermit même par son esprit et ses raisons. Ces dernières étaient claires: la puissance de la France était grande par terre et par mer, et en grande réputation en Europe, contigue de tous les côtés à l'Espagne, en situation par conséquent de l'attaquer ou de la soutenir avec succès et promptitude tout-à-fait frontière des Pays-Bas, et en état d'ailleurs de soutenir le Milanez, Naples, et la Sicile contre l'Empereur faible, contigu à aucun de ces états, éloigné de tout, et pour qui le continent de l'Espagne se trouvait hors de toute prise, tandis que de tous côtés il l'était de plein-pied à la France. Ils communiquèrent leur pensée à Villagarcias et à Villena, qui y entrèrent tout d'abord. Ensuite ils

jugèrent qu'il fallait gagner San-Estevan, qui était la meilleure tête du conseil: Villena était son beau-frère, mari de sa sœur et son ami intime; Villagarcias, aussi très bien avec lui; ils s'en chargèrent, et ils réussirent.

"Voilà donc cinq hommes très principaux résolus à donner leur couronne à un de nos princes. Ils délibérèrent entre eux, et ils estimèrent qu'ils ne pourraient rien faire sans l'autorité du Cardinal Portocarrero, qui portait ses deux pour le conseil, où il était le premier, et par la conscience, et par ses qualités ecclésiastiques. La haine ouverte et réciproque déclarée entre la reine et lui leur en fit bien espérer. Il était, de plus, ami intime de Villafranca et de toute la maison de Tolède. Celui-ci se chargea de le sonder, puis de lui parler; et il le fit si bien, qu'il s'assura tout-à-fait de lui. Tout cela se pratiquait sans que le Roi ni personne en France songeât à rien moins, et sans que Blécourt en eut la moindre connaissance, et se pratiquait par des Espagnols qui n'avaient aucune liaison en France, et par des Espagnols, la plupart fort Autrichiens, mais qui aimaient mieux l'intégrité de leur monarchie, et leur grandeur et leur fortune particulière à eux, que la maison d'Autriche qui n'était pas à la même portée que la France de maintenir l'une, et de conserver les autres. Ils sentaient néanmoins deux grandes difficultés: les renonciations si solemnelles et si repétées de notre reine par la paix des Pyrénées et par son contrat de mariage avec le Roi, et l'opposition naturelle du leur à priver sa propre maison, dans l'adoration de laquelle il avait été élevé, et dans laquelle il s'était nourri lui-même toute sa vie, et la priver en faveur d'une maison ennemie et rivale de la sienne dans tous les temps. Ce dernier obstacle, ils ne crurent personne en état de le lever que le Cardinal Portocarrero par la foi de la conscience.

"A l'égard de celui des renonciations, Villafranca ouvrit un avis qui en trancha toute la difficulté. Il

opina donc que les renonciations de Marie-Thérèse étaient bonnes et valables, tant qu'elles ne sortaient que l'effet qu'on avait eu pour objet en les exigeant et en les accordant; que cet effet était d'empêcher, pour le repos de l'Europe, que les couronnes de France et d'Espagne ne se trouvassent réunies sur une même tête, comme il arriverait sans cette sage précaution au cas qui allait tomber dans la personne du Dauphin; mais que maintenant que ce prince avait trois fils, le second desquels pouvait être appelé à la couronne d'Espagne, les renonciations de la Reine sa grand-mère devenaient caduques, comme ne sortissant plus l'effet pour lequel uniquement elles avaient été faites, mais un autre inutile au repos de l'Europe, et unjuste en soi, en privant un prince particulier sans états, et pourtant héritier légitime, pour en revêtir ceux qui ne sont ni héritiers ni en aucun titre à l'égal du fils de France, effet encore qui n'allait à rien moins qu'à la dissipation et la destruction totale d'une monarchie, pour la conservation de laquelle ces renonciations avaient été faites. Cet avis célèbre fut approuvé de tous, et Villafranca se chargea de l'ouvrir en plein conseil. Il n'y avait donc encore que Portocarrero, Villafranca, Villena, San-Estevan, Medina-Sidonia, et Villagarcias dans ce secret. Ils estimèrent avec raison qu'il devait être inviolablement gardé entre eux jusqu'à ce que le Cardinal eut persuadé le Roi. Les difficultés en étaient extrêmes.

" Outre cette passion demesurée et rimée de la grandeur de la maison d'Autriche dans le Roi d'Espagne, il avait fait un testament en faveur de l'Archiduc de la totalité de tout ce qu'il possédait au monde. Il fallait donc lui faire détruire son propre ouvrage, le chef-d'œuvre de son cœur, la consolation de la fin prématurée de ses grandeurs temporelles, en les laissant dans sa maison qu'il branchait de nouveau à l'exemple de Charles V.; et sur cette

destruction entière pour la maison de France, l'émule et l'ennemie perpetuelle de celle d'Autriche, la même grandeur, la même mi-partition qu'il avait faite pour la sienne, qui était la détruire de ses propres mains en tout ce qui lui était possible, pour enrichir son ennemie de ses dépouilles et de toutes les couronnes que la maison d'Autriche avait accumulées sur la tête de son ainé. Il fallait lutter contre tout le crédit et la puissance de la Reine si grandement établie, et de nouveau ulcérée contre la France qui n'avait pas voulu que Harcourt écoutât rien de sa part par l'Amirante. Enfin c'était une trame qu'il fallait ourdir sous les yeux du Comte d'Harrach, ambassadeur de l'Empereur, qui avait sa brigue dès long-temps formée, et les yeux bien ouverts.

"Quelsque fussent ces obstacles, la grandeur de leur objet les raidit contre. Ils commencèrent par attaquer la Reine par l'autorité du conseil, qui se joignit si puissamment à la voix publique contre la faveur et les rapines de la Berlips, sa favorite, que cette Allemande n'osa en soutenir le choc dans l'état de dépérissement où elle voyait le Roi d'Espagne, et se trouva heureuse d'emporter en Allemagne les trésors qu'elle avait acquis, pour ne s'exposer point aux évènements d'une révolution en un pays où elle était si haïe, et d'emmener sa fille, à qui le dernier effort du crédit de la Reine fut de faire donner une promesse du Roi d'Espagne par écrit d'un collier de la Toison-d'Or à quiconque elle épouserait. Avec cela la Berlips partit à la hâte, traversa la France, et se retira de façon qu'on n'en entendit plus parler. C'était un coup de partie.

"La Reine, bonne et peu capable, ne pouvait rien tirer d'elle-même. Il lui fallait toujours quelqu'un qui la gouvernât. La Berlips, pour régner sur elle à son aise, s'était bien gardée de la laisser approcher, tellement que, privée de cette favorite, elle se trouvait sans conseil, sans secours, et sans ressource en elle-même, et le temps selon toute

apparence trop court pour qu'un autre eut le loisir de l'empaumer assez pour la rendre embarrassante pendant le reste de la vie du Roi. Ce fut pour achever de se mettre en liberté à cet égard que, de concert encore avec le public qui gémissait sous le poids des Allemands du Prince de Darmstadt, qui maîtrisaient Madrid et les environs, le conseil fit encore un tour de force en faisant remercier ce prince et licencier ce régiment. Ces deux coups, et si près-à-près, attérèrent la Reine, et la mirent hors de mesure pour tout le reste de la vie du Roi. Portocarrero, Villafranca et San-Estevan, les trois conseillers d'état seuls du secret, induisirent habilement les autres à chasser la Berlips et le Prince de Darmstadt, qui pour la plupart s'y portèrent de haine pour la Reine et pour ses deux bras droits; et le peu qui lui étaient attachés, comme l'Amirante par cabale et Veragna par politique, furent entrainés, et apprirent à quitter doucement la Reine par l'état où ce changement la fit tomber. Ces deux grands pas faits, San-Estevan, qui ne quitta jamais le Cardinal d'un moment, tant que cette grande affaire ne fut pas consommée, le poussa à porter un autre coup, sans lequel ils ne crurent pas qu'il y eut moyen de rien entreprendre avec succès. Ce fut de faire chasser le Confesseur du Roi qui lui avait été donné par la Reine, et qui était un zélé Autrichien.

"Le Cardinal prit si bien son temps et ses mesures qu'il fit coup double: le Confesseur fut renvoyé, et Portocarrero en donna un autre, auquel il était assuré de faire dire et faire tout ce qu'il voudrait. Alors il tint le Roi d'Espagne par la foi de la conscience, qui eut sur lui d'autant plus de pouvoir qu'il commençait à ne regarder plus les choses de ce monde qu'à la lueur de ce terrible flambeau qu'on allume aux mourants. Portocarrero laissa ancrer un peu le Confesseur, et quand il jugea que l'état du roi d'Espagne le rendait susceptible de pouvoir entendre mettre la maison de France en parallèle avec celle d'Autriche, le Cardinal,

toujours étayé et endoctriné par San-Estevan, attaqua le Roi d'Espagne avec toute l'autorité qu'il recevait de son caractère, de son concert avec le Confesseur, et de l'avis de ce peu de personnages, mais si principaux, qui étaient du secret, auxquels l'importance et les conjonctures ne permettaient pas qu'on en joignit d'autres. Ce prince, exténué de maux, et dont la santé, faible toute sa vie, avait rendu son esprit peu vigoureux, pressé par de si grandes raisons temporelles, effrayé du poids des spirituelles, tomba dans une étrange perplexité. L'amour extrême de sa maison, l'aversion de sa rivale, tant d'états et de puissance à remettre à l'une ou à l'autre, ses affections les plus chères, les plus fomentées jusqu'alors, son propre ouvrage en faveur de l'Archiduc à détruire pour la grandeur d'une maison de tout temps ennemie, le salut éternel, la justice, l'intérêt pressant de sa monarchie, le vœu des seuls ministres ou principaux seigneurs qui jusqu'alors pussent être sûrement consultés : nul Autrichien pour le soutenir dans ce combat ; le Cardinal et le Confesseur sans cesse à le presser ; parmi ces avis, aucun dont il put se défier, aucun qui eut de liaison en France et avec nul Français, aucun qui ne fut Espagnol naturel, aucun qui ne l'eut bien servi, aucun en qui il eut jamais reconnu le moindre éloignement pour la maison d'Autriche ; un grand attachement au contraire pour elle en plusieurs d'eux : il n'en fallut pas moins pour le jeter dans une incertitude assez grande pour ne savoir à quoi se résoudre ; enfin, flottant, irrésolu, déchiré en soi-même, ne pouvant plus porter cet état, et toutefois ne pouvant se déterminer, il pensa à consulter le Pape comme un oracle avec lequel il ne pouvait faillir ; il résolut donc de déposer en son sein paternel toutes ses inquiétudes, et de suivre ce qu'il lui conseillerait. Il le proposa au Cardinal, qui y consentit, persuadé que le Pape, aussi impartial, aussi éclairé qu'il s'était montré depuis qu'il gouvernait l'église, et d'ailleurs aussi désintéressé et

aussi pieux qu'il l'était, prononcerait en faveur du parti le plus juste.

" Cette résolution prise soulagea extrêmement le Roi d'Espagne ; elle calma ses violentes agitations qui avaient porté beaucoup encore sur sa santé qui reprit quelque sorte de lueur. Il écrivit donc fort au long au Pape, et se reposa sur le Cardinal du soin de faire rendre directement sa lettre avec tout le secret qu'elle demandait. Alors il fallut bien mettre Ubilla dans le secret. Ce ministre n'eut pas de peine à entrer dans les vues favorables à la France. Il les trouva déjà si bien concertées, et si à l'abri de toutes contradictions intérieures par le reculement de la reine, et si avancées en environs, qu'il se joignit de bonne foi aux seigneurs du secret, qui acquirent ainsi une bonne tête, et un ministère qui s'étendit sur toute la monarchie, et duquel il leur eût été comme impossible de se passer. Le Pape reçut directement la consultation du Roi d'Espagne, et ne le fit pas attendre pour la réponse et sa décision. Il lui écrivit qu'étant lui-même en un état aussi proche que l'était sa Majesté Catholique, d'aller rendre compte au Souverain Pasteur du troupeau universel qu'il lui avait confié, il avait un intérêt aussi grand et aussi pressant qu'elle-même de lui donner un conseil dont il ne put alors recevoir de reproches ; qu'il pensât combien peu il devait se laisser toucher aux intérêts de la maison d'Autriche, en comparaison de ceux de son éternité, et de ce compte terrible qu'il était si peu éloigné d'aller rendre au souverain Juge des rois, qui ne reçoit point d'excuses et ne fait acception de personne ; qu'il voyait lui-même que les enfants du Dauphin étaient les vrais, les seuls et les légitimes héritiers de sa monarchie, qui excluaient tous autres, et du vivant desquels et de leur postérité, l'Archiduc, la sienne et toute la maison d'Autriche n'avaient aucun droit, et étaient entièrement étrangers ; que plus la succession était immense, plus l'injustice qu'il commettrait lui deviendrait terrible

au jugement de Dieu; que c'était donc à lui à n'oublier aucune des précautions ni des mesures que toute sa sagesse lui pourrait inspirer pour faire justice à qui il la devait, et pour assurer, autant qu'il lui serait possible, l'entière totalité de sa succession et de sa monarchie à un des fils de France. Le secret de la consultation et de la réponse d'Innocent XII. fut si profondément enseveli, qu'il n'a été su que Philippe V. a été en Espagne.

"Cependant le Roi d'Espagne était veilli et suivi de près, dans l'espérance où était le Cardinal pour le disposer à une parfaite et prompte obéissance à la décision qu'il attendait, de manière que, lorsqu'elle arriva, il n'y eut plus à vaincre que des restes impuissants de répugnance et à mettre la main tout de bon à l'œuvre. Ubilla, uni à ceux du secret, fit un autre testament en faveur du Duc d'Anjou, et le dressa avec les motifs et les clauses qui ont paru à tous les esprits désintéressés si pleines d'équité, de prudence, de force et de sagesse, et qui est devenu si public, que je n'en dirai rien ici davantage. Quand il fut achevé d'examiner par les conseillers d'état du secret, Ubilla le porta au roi d'Espagne avec l'autre précédent fait en faveur de l'Archiduc; celui-là fut brulé par lui en présence du Roi d'Espagne, du Cardinal et du Confesseur, et l'autre tout de suite signé par le roi d'Espagne, et, un moment après, authentiqué au-dessus, lorsqu'il fut fermé, par les signatures du Cardinal, d'Ubilla, et de quelques autres. Cela fait, Ubilla tint près les ordres et les expéditions nécessaires en conséquence pour les divers pays de l'obéissance d'Espagne avec un secret égal; on prétend qu'alors ils firent pressentir le Roi sans oser pourtant confier tout le secret à Castel-dos-Rios, et que ce fut la matière de cette audience si singulière qu'elle est sans exemple, dont il exclut Torcy, auquel, ni devant ni après, il ne dit pas un mot de la matière qu'il avait à traiter seul avec le roi.

"L'extrémité du Roi d'Espagne se fit connaître plu-

sieurs jours seulement après la signature du testament. Le Cardinal, aidé des principaux du secret qui avaient les deux grandes charges, et du Comte de Benevente, qui avait l'autre, par laquelle il était maître de l'appartement et de la chambre du roi, empêcha la reine d'en approcher les derniers jours, sous divers prétextes. Benevente n'était pas du secret, mais il était ami des principaux du peu de ceux qui en étaient, et il était aisément gouverné, de sorte qu'il fit tout ce qu'ils voulurent. Ils y comptaient si bien, qu'ils l'avaient fait mettre dans le testament, pour entrer, comme grand d'Espagne, dans la junte qu'il établit pour gouverner en attendant le successeur, et il savait aussi que le testament était fait, sans toutefois être instruit de ce qu'il contenait. Il était tantôt temps de parler au conseil. Des huit qui en étaient, quatre seulement étaient au secret, Portocarrero, Villafranca, San-Estevan et Ubilla. Les autres quatre étaient l'Amirante, Veragna, Mancera et Arias. Des deux derniers, ils n'en étaient point en peine, mais l'attachement de l'Amirante à la reine, le peu de foi de Veragna, et la difficulté de leur faire garder un si important secret, avaient toujours retardé jusque tout aux derniers jours du roi d'Espagne, d'en venir aux opinions dans le conseil, sur la succession.

" A la fin, le Roi, prêt à manquer à tous les moments, toutes les précautions possibles prises, et n'y ayant guères à craindre que ces deux conseillers d'état seuls, et sans appui ni confiance de personne, et la Reine dans l'abandon, osassent reveler un secret si prêt à l'être, et si inutilement pour eux, le Cardinal assembla le conseil, et y mit tout de suite la grande affaire de la succession en délibération. Villafranca tint parole, et opina avec grande force en la manière qu'elle se trouve ci-dessus. San-Estevan suivit avec autorité. L'Amirante et Veragna, qui virent la partie faite, n'osèrent contredire. Le second ne se souciait que de sa fortune, qu'il ne voulait pas exposer

dans des moments si critiques, et dans une actuelle impuissance de la cour de Vienne, par son éloignement, et la même raison retint l'Amirante, malgré son attachement pour elle. Mancera, galant homme, et qui ne voulait que le bien, mais effrayé d'avoir à prendre son parti sur le champ en chose de telle importance, demande vingt-quatre heures pour y penser, au bout desquelles il opina pour la France. Arias s'y rendit d'abord, à qui on avait dit le mot un peu auparavant. Ubilla, après que le cardinal eut opiné et conclu, dressa, sur la table même, ce célèbre résultat; ils le signèrent et jurèrent d'en garder un inviolable secret, jusqu'à ce qu'après la mort du Roi il fut temps d'agir en conséquence de ce qui venait d'être résolu entre eux. En effet, ni l'Amirante, ni Veragna n'osèrent en laisser échapper quoique ce fut, et l'Amirante même fut impénétrable là-dessus à la Reine et au Comte d'Harrach, qui ignorèrent toujours si le conseil avait pris une résolution. Très peu après, le Roi d'Espagne mourut, le jour de la Toussaint, auquel il était né quarante-deux auparavant; il mourut, dis-je, à trois heures après midi, dans le palais de Madrid."

VI. ACCEPTANCE OF THE WILL OF CHARLES II. BY LOUIS XIV.

[*Extract from the Memoirs of Saint-Simon.*]

"Harcourt, qui était à Bayonne, avait ordre d'ouvrir tous les paquets du Roi, afin d'agir suivant les nouvelles, sans perdre de temps à attendre les ordres de la cour qu'il avait d'avance pour tous les cas prévus. Le courrier de Blécourt arriva malade à Bayonne, de sorte qu'Harcourt en prit occasion d'en dépêcher un à lui avec ordre de rendre à son ami Barbésieux les quatre mots qu' il écrivit

tant au Roi qu'à lui, avant que de porter le paquet de Blécourt à Torcy. Ce fut une galanterie qu'il fit à Barbésieux pour le faire porteur de cette grande nouvelle. Barbésieux la reçut, et sur-le-champ la porta au Roi, qui était lors au conseil des finances, le mardi matin, 9 Novembre.

"Le Roi, qui devait aller tirer, contremanda la chasse, dina à l'ordinaire au petit couvert sans rien montrer sur son visage, déclara la mort du Roi d'Espagne, qu'il draperait, et ajouta qu'il n'y aurait de tout l'hiver ni appartement, ni comédies, ni aucun divertissement à la cour; et quand il fut rentré dans son cabinet, il manda aux ministres de se trouver à trois heures chez Madame de Maintenon. Monseigneur était revenu de courre le loup; il se trouva aussi à trois heures chez Madame de Maintenon. Le conseil y dura jusqu'après sept heures, en suite de quoi le Roi y travailla jusqu'à dix avec Torcy et Barbésieux ensemble. Madame de Maintenon avait toujours été présente au conseil, et le fut encore au travail qui le suivit. Le lendemain, mercredi, il y eut conseil d'état le matin chez le Roi à l'ordinaire, et au retour de la chasse il en tint un autre comme la veille chez Madame de Maintenon, depuis six heures du soir jusqu'à près de dix. Quelque accoutumé qu'on fût à la cour à la faveur de Madame de Maintenon, on ne l'était pas à la voir entrer publiquement dans les affaires, et la surprise fut extrême de voir assembler deux conseils en forme chez elle, et pour la plus grande et la plus importante déliberation qui de tout ce long règne et de beaucoup d'autres eut été mise sur le tapis.

"Le Roi, Monseigneur, le Chancelier, le Duc de Beauvillier et Torcy, et il n'y avait lors point d'autres ministres d'état que ces trois derniers, furent les seuls qui délibérèrent sur cette grande affaire, et Madame de Maintenon, avec eux, qui se taisait par modestie, que le

Roi força de dire son avis après que tous eurent opiné, excepté lui. Ils furent partagés; deux pour s'en tenir au traité de partage, deux pour accepter le testament.

"Les premiers soutenaient que la foi y était engagée, qu'il n'y avait point de comparaison entre l'accroissement de la puissance et d'états unis à la couronne, d'états contigus et aussi nécessaires que la Lorraine, aussi importants que le Guipuscoa pour être une clef de l'Espagne, aussi utile au commerce que les places de Toscane, Naples et Sicile, et la grandeur particulière d'un fils de France, dont tout au plus loin la première postérité devenue Espagnole par son intérêt, et par ne connaître autre chose que l'Espagne, se montrerait aussi jalouse de la puissance de la France que les Rois d'Espagne Autrichiens; qu'en acceptant le testament il fallait compter sur une longue et sanglante guerre, par l'injure de la rupture du traité de partage, et par l'intérêt de toute l'Europe à s'opposer à un colosse tel qu'allait devenir la France pour un temps, si on lui laissait recueillir une succession aussi vaste; que la France épuisée d'une longue suite de guerres, et qui n'avait pas eu le loisir de respirer depuis la paix de Ryswick, était hors d'état de s'y opposer; que l'Espagne l'était aussi de longue main; qu'en l'acceptant tout le faix tombait sur la France, qui, dans l'impuissance de soutenir le poids de tout ce qui s'allait unir contre elle, aurait encore l'Espagne à supporter; que c'était un enchainement dont on n'osait prévoir les suites, mais qui en gros se montraient telles que toute la prudence humaine semblait conseiller de ne s'y pas commettre; qu'en se tenant au traité de partage, la France se conciliait toute l'Europe par cette foi maintenue et par ce grand exemple de modération, elle qui n'avait en toute l'Europe sur les bras que par la persuasion, où sa conduite avait donné crédit, des calomnies semées avec tant de succès qu'elle voulait tout envahir, et monter peu-à-peu à la monarchie universelle tant reprochée autrefois à la maison d'Autriche,

dont l'acceptation du testament ne laisserait plus douter, comme en étant un degré bien avancé; que, se tenant au traité de partage, elle s'attirerait la confiance de toute l'Europe dont elle deviendrait la dictatrice, ce qu'elle ne pouvait espérer de ses armes, et que l'intérieur du royaume, rétabli par une longue paix, augmenté aux dépens de l'Espagne avec la clef du côté le plus jaloux et le plus un de ce royaume, et celle de tout le commerce du Levant, enfin l'arrondissement si nécessaire de la Lorraine, qui réunit les Evêchés, l'Alsace et la Franche-Comté, et délivre la Champagne qui n'a point de frontières, formerait un état si puissant qu'il serait à l'avenir la terreur ou le refuge de tous les autres, et en situation assurée de faire tourner à son gré toutes les affaires générales de l'Europe. Torcy ouvrit cet avis pour balancer et sans conclure, et le Duc de Beauvillier le soutint puissamment, qui pendant toute cette déduction s'était uniquement appliqué à démêler l'inclination du Roi, et qui crut l'avoir enfin pénétrée.

"Le Chancelier parla ensuite. Il établit d'abord qu'il était au choix du Roi de laisser brancher une seconde fois la maison d'Autriche à fort peu de puissance près de ce qu'elle avait été depuis Philippe II., et dont on avait vivement éprouvé la force et la puissance, ou de prendre le même avantage pour la sienne; que cet avantage se trouvait fort supérieur à celui dont la maison d'Autriche avait tiré de si grands avantages, par la différence des états des deux branches qui ne se pouvaient secourir que par des diversions de concert, et qui étaient coupés par des états étrangers; que l'une des deux n'avait ni mer ni commerce; que sa puissance n'était qu'usurpation qui avait toujours trouvé de la contradiction dans son propre sein, et souvent des révoltes ouvertes, et dans ce vaste pays d'Allemagne où les diètes avaient palpité tant qu'elles avaient pu, et où on avait pu, sans messéance, fomenter les mécontentements par l'ancienne alliance de la France avec

le corps germanique, dont l'éloignement de l'Espagne ne recevait de secours que difficilement, sans compter les inquiétudes de la part des Turcs, dont les armes avaient souvent rendu celles des Empereurs inutiles à l'Espagne; que les pays héréditaires dont l'Empereur pouvait disposer comme du sien, ne pouvaient entrer en comparaison avec les moindres provinces de France; que ce dernier royaume, le plus étendu, le plus abondant et le plus puissant de tous ceux de l'Europe, chaque état considéré à part, avait l'avantage de ne dépendre de l'avis de qui que ce soit, et de se remuer tout entier à la seule volonté de son Roi, ce qui en rendait les mouvements parfaitement secrets et parfaitement rapides, et celui encore d'être contigu, d'une mer à l'autre, à l'Espagne, et de plus, par les deux mers, d'avoir du commerce et une marine, et d'être en état de protéger celle d'Espagne, et de profiter à l'avenir de son union avec elle pour le commerce des Indes; par conséquent de recueillir des fruits de cette union bien plus continuels, plus grands, plus certains que n'avait pu faire la maison d'Autriche, qui, loin de pouvoir compter mutuellement sur des secours précis, s'était souvent trouvée embarrassée à faire passer ses simples courriers d'une branche à l'autre, au lieu que la France et l'Espagne, par leur contiguité, ne faisaient, pour toutes ces importantes commodités, qu'une seule et même province, et pouvait agir en tous temps à l'insu de tous ses voisins; que ces avantages ne se trouvaient balancés que par ceux de l'acquisition de la Lorraine, commode et importante à la vérité, mais dont la possession n'augmenterait en rien le poids de la France dans les affaires générales, tandisque, unie avec l'Espagne, il serait toujours prépondérant et très-supérieur à la plupart des puissances unies en alliance, dont les divers intérêts ne pouvaient rendre ces unions durables comme celui des frères et de la même maison; que d'ailleurs, en se mettant à titre de necessité au-dessus du scrupule de l'occupation

de la Lorraine désarmée, démantelée, enclavée comme elle était, ne l'avoir pas était le plus petit inconvénient du monde, puisqu'on s'en saisirait toujours au premier mouvement de guerre, comme on avait fait depuis si long-temps; qu'en ces occasions, on n'apercevait pas de différence entre elle et une province du royaume.

"A l'égard de Naples, Sicile, et des places de la côte de Toscane, il n'y avait qu'à ouvrir les histoires pour voir combien souvent nos Rois en avaient été les maîtres, et avec ces états de celui de Milan, de Gênes et d'autres petits d'Italie, et avec quelle rapide et désastreuse facilité ils les avaient toujours perdus. Que le traité de partage avait été accepté faute de pouvoir espérer mieux dès qu'on ne voulait pas se jeter dans les conquêtes; mais qu'en l'acceptant c'aurait été se tromper de méconnaitre l'inimitié de tant d'armées de l'habile main qui l'avait dressé pour nous donner des noms sans nous donner des choses, ou plutôt des choses impossibles, à conserver par leur éloignement et leur épuisement, et qui ne seraient bonnes qu'à consumer notre argent et partager nos forces, et à nous tenir dans une contrainte perpétuelle. Que pour le Guipuscoa, c'était un leurre de le prendre pour une clef de l'Espagne; qu'il n'en fallait qu'appeler à nous-mêmes qui avions été plus de trente ans en guerre avec l'Espagne, et toujours en état de prendre les places et les ports de cette province, puisque le Roi avait bien conquis celles de Flandre, de la Meuse et du Rhin. Mais que la stérilité affreuse d'un vaste pays, et la difficulté des Pyrénées avaient toujours détourné la guerre de ce côté-là, et permis même dans leur plus fort une sorte de commerce entre les deux frontières sous prétexte de tolérance, sans qu'il s'y fut jamais commis aucune hostilité. Qu'enfin les places de la côte de Toscane seraient toujours en prise du souverain du Milanez, qui pourrait faire des préparatifs à son aise et en secret, tomber dessus subitement et de plain pied, et s'en être emparé avant l'arrivée

d'un secours par mer qui ne pouvait partir que des ports de Provence. Que pour ce qui était du danger d'avoir les Rois d'Espagne Français pour ennemis, comme ceux de la maison d'Autriche. Cette identité ne pouvait jamais avoir lieu, puisqu'au moins, n'étant pas de cette maison, mais de celle de France, tout ce qui ne serait pas l'intérêt même d'Espagne ne serait jamais le leur, comme au contraire, dès qu'il y aurait identité de maison, il y aurait identité d'intérêts, dont, pour ne parler maintenant que de l'extérieur, l'abaissement de l'Empereur et la diminution du commerce, et la diminution du commerce et de l'accroissement des colonies des Anglais et des Hollandais aux Indes, ferait toujours un tel intérêt commun qu'il dominerait tous les autres. Que pour l'intérieur, il n'y avait qu'à prendre exemple sur la maison d'Autriche, que rien n'avait pu diviser depuis Charles Quint, quoique si souvent pleine de riottes domestiques. Que le désir de s'étendre en Flandre était un point que le moindre grain de sagesse et de politique ferait toujours céder à tout ce que l'union de deux si puissantes monarchies et si contigues partout pouvoir opérer, qui n'allait à rien moins pour la notre qu'à s'enrichir par le commerce des Indes, et pour toutes les deux à donner le branle, le poids, et, avec le temps, le ton à toutes les affaires de l'Europe ; que cet intérêt était si grand et si palpable, et les occasions de division entre les deux Rois de même sang si médiocres en eux-mêmes, et si anéanties en comparaison de ceux-là, qu'il n'y avait point de division raisonnable à en craindre. Qu'il y avait à espérer que le Roi vivrait assez long-temps non-seulement pour l'établir, et Monseigneur après lui, entre ses deux fils, qu'il n'y avait pas moins lieu d'en espérer la continuation dans les deux frères, si unis et si affermis de longue main dans ces principes, qu'ils feraient passer aux cousins germains, ce qui montrait déjà une longue suite d'années ; qu'enfin, si le malheur venait assez à surmonter toute raison pour faire naître des

guerres, il fallait toujours qu'il y eût un Roi d'Espagne, et qu'une guerre se pousserait moins et se terminerait toujours plus aisément et plus heureusement avec un Roi de même sang, qu'avec un étranger et de la maison d'Autriche.[g]

"Après cet exposé, le Chancelier vint à ce qui regardait la rupture du traité de partage. Après en avoir remis le frauduleux, le captieux, le dangereux, il prétendit que la face des choses, entièrement changée du temps auquel il avait été signé, mettait de plein droit le Roi en liberté, sans pouvoir être accusé de manquer de foi; que par ce traité il ne s'était engagé qu'à ce qu'il portait; qu'on n'y trouverait point de stipulation d'aucun refus de ce qui serait donné par la volonté du Roi d'Espagne, et volonté pure, sans sollicitation, et même à l'insu du Roi, et de ce qui serait offert par le vœu universel de tous les seigneurs et les peuples d'Espagne; que le premier était arrivé, que le second allait suivre, selon toute apparence; que le refuser contre tout intérêt, comme il croyait l'avoir montré, attirerait moins la confiance avec qui le traité de partage avait été signé, que leur mépris, que la persuasion d'une impuissance qui les enhardirait à essayer de dépouiller bientôt la France de ce qui ne lui avait été donné en distance si éloignée et de si fâcheuse garde, que pour la lui ôter à la première occasion; et que, bien loin de devenir la dictatrice de l'Europe par une modération si étrange et que nulle équité ne présentait, la France acquérait une réputation de pusillanimité, qui serait attribuée aux dangers de la dernière guerre et à l'extermination qui lui en serait restée, et qu'elle deviendrait la risée de ses faux amis, avec bien plus de raison que Louis XII. et François 1er ne l'avaient été de Ferdinand le Catholique, de Charles V., des Papes et des Vénitiens, par leur rare attachement à leur foi et à leurs paroles positives, desquelles ici il n'y a rien qui puisse être pris en la moindre parité; enfin, qu'il convenait qu'une si riche succession ne se recueillerait pas sans guerre, mais qu'il fallait

lui accorder aussi que l'Empereur ne souffrirait pas plus paisiblement l'exécution du traité de partage que celle du testament; que jamais il n'avait voulu y consentir, qu'il avait tout tenté pour s'y opposer, qu'il n'était occupé qu'à des levées et à des alliances; que guerre pour guerre, il valait mieux la faire à mains garnies, et ne se pas montrer à la face de l'univers indignes de la plus haute fortune et la moins imaginée.

"Ces deux avis, dont je ne donne ici que le précis, furent beaucoup plus étendus de part et d'autre, et fort disputés par force répliques des deux côtés. Monseigneur, tout noyé qu'il fut dans la graisse et dans l'apathie, parut un autre homme dans tous ces deux conseils, à la grande surprise du Roi et des assistants. Quand ce fut à lui à parler, après les ripostes finies, il s'expliqua avec force pour l'acceptation du testament, et reprit une partie des meilleures raisons du chancelier; puis se tournant vers le Roi d'un air respectueux mais ferme, il lui dit qu'après avoir dit son avis comme les autres, il prenait la liberté de lui demander son héritage, puisqu'il était en état de l'accepter; que la monarchie d'Espagne était le bien de la Reine sa mère, par conséquent le sien, et, pour la tranquillité de l'Europe, celui de son second fils, à qui il le cédait de tout son cœur, mais qu'il n'en quitterait pas un seul pouce de terre à nul autre; que sa demande était juste et conforme à l'honneur du Roi, et à l'intérêt et à la grandeur de sa couronne, et qu'il espérait bien aussi qu'elle ne lui serait pas refusée. Cela, dit d'un visage enflammé, surprit à l'excès. Le Roi l'écouta fort attentivement, puis dit à Madame de Maintenon: 'Et vous, Madame, que dites-vous de tout ceci?' Elle à faire la modeste; mais enfin pressée, et même commandée, elle dit deux mots d'un bienséant embarras; puis, en peu de paroles, se mit sur les louanges de Monseigneur, qu'elle craignait et

n'aimait guère, ni lui il, et fut enfin d'avis d'accepter le testament.

"Le Roi conclut sans s'ouvrir. Il dit qu'il avait tout bien ouï, et compris tout ce qui avait été dit de part et d'autre; qu'il y avait de grandes raisons des deux côtés; que l'affaire méritait bien de dormir dessus et d'attendre vingt-quatre heures ce qui pourrait venir d'Espagne, et si les Espagnols seraient du même avis que leur Roi. Il congédia le conseil, à qui il ordonna de se retrouver le lendemain au soir au même lieu, et finit sa journée entre Madame de Maintenon, Torcy qu'il fit rester, et Barbésieux qu'il envoya chercher.

"Le mercredi 10me Novembre, il arriva plusieurs courriers d'Espagne, dont un ne fit que passer portant des ordres à l'Electeur de Bavière à Bruxelles. On eut par eux tout ce qui pouvait achever de déterminer le Roi à l'acceptation du testament, c'est à dire, le vœu des seigneurs et des peuples, autant que la brièveté du temps le pouvait permettre; de sorte que, tout ayant été lu et discuté chez Madame de Maintenon au conseil que le Roi, au retour de la chasse, y tint comme la veille, il s'y détermina à l'acceptation. Le lendemain matin, jeudi, le Roi, entre son lever et sa messe, donna audience à l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, à laquelle Monseigneur et Torcy furent présents. L'ambassadeur présenta, de la part de la Reine et de la Junte, une copie authentique du testament. On n'a pas doute depuis qu'en cette audience, le Roi, sans s'expliquer nettement, n'eut donné de grandes espérances d'acceptation à l'ambassadeur, à la sortie duquel le Roi fit entrer Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne, à qui il confia le secret du parti pris. Le Chancelier s'en alla à Paris l'après-dinée, et les autres ministres eurent congé jusqu'à Versailles, de manière que personne ne douta que la résolution, qu'elle qu'elle fut, ne fut prise et arretée.

* * * * * *

"La surprise du Roi et de ses ministres fut sans pareille. Ni lui ni eux ne pouvaient croire à ce qu'ils lisaient dans la dépêche de Blécourt, et il leur fallut plusieurs jours pour en revenir assez et être en état de délibérer sur une aussi importante matière. Dès que la nouvelle devint publique, elle fit la même impression sur toute la cour, et les ministres étrangers passèrent les nuits à conférer et à méditer sur le parti que le Roi prendrait, et sur les intérêts de leurs maîtres, et gardaient à l'extérieur un grand silence. Le courtisan ne s'occupait qu'à raisonner, et presque tous allaient à l'acceptation. La manière ne laissa pas d'en être agitée dans les conseils, jusqu'à y raisonner de donner la comédie au monde, et de faire disparaître le Duc d'Anjou, sous la conduite du nonce Gualterio, qui l'emmenerait en Espagne. Je le sus, et je songeai à être de la partie, mais ce misérable biais fut aussitôt rejeté, par la honte d'accepter à la dérobée tant de couronnes offertes, et par la necéssité prompte de lever le masque pour soutenir l'Espagne, trop faible pour être laissée à ses propres forces. Comme on ne parlait d'autre chose que du parti qu'il y avait à prendre, le Roi se divertit en soir dans son cabinet à en demander leur avis aux princesses. Elles répondirent que c'était d'envoyer promptement M. le Duc d'Anjou en Espagne, et que c'était le sentiment général, par tout ce qu'elles en entendaient dire à tout le monde. 'Je suis sûr,' leur répondit le Roi, 'que, quelque parti que je prenne, beaucoup de gens me condamneront.'

"C'était le samedi 13 Novembre. Le lendemain matin, dimanche 14, veille du départ de Fontainebleau, le Roi entretint long-temps Torcy, qui avertit ensuite l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, qui était demeuré à Fontainebleau, de se trouver le lendemain au soir à Versailles. Cela se sut, et donna grand éveil. Les gens alertes avaient su encore que le vendredi précédent le Roi avait parlé long-temps à

M. le Duc d'Anjou en présence de MONSEIGNEUR et de Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne, ce qui était si extraordinaire, qu'on commença à se douter que le testament serait accepté. Ce même dimanche, veille du départ, un courrier Espagnol du Comte d'Harrach passa à Fontainebleau allant à Vienne, vit le Roi à son souper, et dit publiquement qu'on attendait à Madrid M. le Duc d'Anjou avec beaucoup d'impatience, et ajouta qu'il y avait quatre grands nommés pour aller au devant de lui. Ce prince, à qui on parla du testament, ne répondit que par sa reconnaissance pour le Roi d'Espagne, et se conduisit si uniment qu'il ne parut jamais qu'il sût ou se doutât de rien jusqu'à l'instant de sa déclaration.

" Le lundi 15 Novembre, le Roi partit de Fontainebleau entre neuf et dix heures, et arriva à Versailles sur les quatre heures. MONSEIGNEUR alla diner à Meudon pour y demeurer quelques jours, et MONSIEUR et MADAME à Paris. En chemin l'ambassadeur d'Espagne reçut un courrier avec de nouveaux ordres et de nouveaux empressements pour demander M. le Duc d'Anjou. La cour se trouva fort grosse à Versailles, que la curiosité y avait rassemblée dès le jour même de l'arrivée du Roi.

" Le lendemain, mardi 16 Novembre, le Roi, au sortir de son lever, fit entrer l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne dans son cabinet, où M. le Duc d'Anjou s'était rendu par les derrières. Le Roi, le lui montrant, lui dit qu'il le pouvait saluer comme son Roi. Aussitôt il se jeta à genoux à la manière Espagnole, et lui fit un assez long compliment en cette langue. Le Roi lui dit qu'il ne l'entendait pas encore, et que c'était à lui à répondre pour son petit-fils. Tout aussitôt après le Roi fit, contre toute coutume, ouvrir les deux battants de la porte de son cabinet, et commanda à tout le monde qui était là presque en foule d'entrer ; puis, passant majestueusement les yeux sur la nombreuse compagnie : ' Messieurs,' leur dit-il, en montrant le Duc d'Anjou, ' voilà le Roi d'Espagne.

La naissance l'appelait à cette couronne, le feu roi aussi par son testament, toute la nation l'a souhaité, et me l'a demandé instamment: c'était l'ordre du ciel: je l'ai accordé avec plaisir.' Et se tournant à son petit-fils: 'Soyez bon Espagnol; c'est présentement votre premier devoir, mais souvenez-vous que vous êtes né Français, pour entretenir l'union entre les deux nations: c'est le moyen de les rendre heureuses, et de conserver la paix de l'Europe.' Montrant après du doigt son petit-fils à l'ambassadeur: 'S'il suit mes conseils,' lui dit-il, 'vous serez grand seigneur, et bientôt; il ne saurait mieux faire que de suivre vos avis.'"

THE END.

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